

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

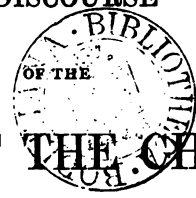
600051248Q

41.

711.


H
BRIDGE.

A DISCOURSE



OF THE

RIGHT OF THE CHURCH

IN A

CHRISTIAN STATE.

BY

HERBERT THORNDIKE, B.D.

FORMERLY PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER.

A NEW EDITION BY

THE REV. J. S. BREWER, M.A.

OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND
ASSISTANT MINISTER OF ELY CHAPEL, HOLBORN.

LONDON:

W. J. CLEAVER, BAKER STREET,

PORTMAN SQUARE.

J. H. PARKER, OXFORD; THOMAS STEVENSON, CAMBRIDGE.

M.DCCC.XLI.

711.

LONDON
C. RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

At a time like the present, when such difference of opinion exists respecting the relative rights of the Church and the state, it seemed very desirable to lay before the public the sentiments of a writer on this subject, who, in the judgment of all well acquainted with his writings, is deservedly esteemed, for learning, acuteness, and sobriety, as inferior to no theologian of the Church of England. In addition to his natural endowments, and extensive knowledge of Christian antiquity, which of themselves give great weight to his opinions, they derive no slight value and interest from the circumstances of the times in which he lived. He had seen the Church of England subjected to persecution, and restored, with undiminished lustre, to its pristine eminence; he had formed one in those disputes at the Savoy Conference, which had been undertaken in the vain hope of bringing over the Presbyterians and dissenting parties to the Church of England; he had seen the rights of the Church discussed by its friends and its enemies, with as much earnestness, as any theological question, which occupies the public mind at the present day. Whilst, on the one side, the Presbyterians, who, from the time of Calvin, claimed a divine right for their form of ecclesiastical government, exalted the spiritual above the temporal power, quite as much as the most extravagant writer of the Church of Rome; others, on the contrary,

like Hobbes and his party, made it entirely dependant on the state, and dissolved, as our author expresses it, "all ecclesiastical power into the secular."

To one, therefore, who had devoted his whole life to the consideration of this important subject, who had studied how to lay down a clearer ground for the development of true Catholic and apostolical principles, these very discussions, which would have perplexed a weaker intellect, served only to keep his attention awake, and enabled him to watch the progress of the truth, as it fluctuated to one side or another. On the first glance, his writings appear to show but little reference to the authors of his time, in comparison with his extensive reading and learning, yet upon more careful examination, it will be found that nothing of importance has been advanced on these subjects, either at or before his time, which he has not noticed, and if false refuted. It is not therefore surprising, that, though at this time comparatively unknown, he should in his own day have commanded the admiration and respect not only of those who agreed with him, but even of those who differed from him; and that when perplexed with the various theories to which the circumstances of the time gave birth, the clergy, especially of this land, should have sought from his works, as it were from an armory, the weapons for refuting their opponents.* The influence of his writings upon his contemporaries may not have

* Dr. Hickes in his preface to "Personal Conferences," &c.; Dr. H. More in his preface to the "Mystery of Godliness:" Falkner's "Libertas Ecclesiastica," p. 127, 318; Dr. William Sherlock on "Religious Assemblies," p. 3, ed. 1840; "The case of the Church of England stated," by S. P. p. 78. A proof of his reputation with all parties, may be seen in Baxter's spiteful remark on the proceedings of the Savoy Conference in 1660, "Reliq. Baxterianæ," vol. ii. p. 364.

been positively acknowledged, perhaps not positively felt, just as we have seen in a similar instance at the present day, yet undoubtedly they exerted a marked and powerful effect; and the principles which he had laid down, with so much clearness and soundness, were highly beneficial to those admirable writers, who distinguished themselves by the defence of this Church, when it was insidiously attacked by Tindal and the liberal writers of his time.

Nor was the attention of our author exclusively confined to the consideration of the rights of the Church, at least as men generally understand them. There is scarce a question connected with the principles of Christian truth, or the covenant of grace, or the laws of the Church, which he has not discussed with unexampled fulness and precision; and many of those of interest at the present moment, which are deemed strange and novel, as if now for the first time agitated by the pious and learned writers of the university of Oxford, will be found to have been thoroughly sifted and discussed in the pages of this author, one of the greatest luminaries of the sister University.

The rule of faith, the authority of tradition, the power of the keys, the visibility of the Church, the divine right of episcopacy, the nature of the sacraments, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, regeneration in baptism, justification by faith, original sin and its kindred doctrines; or other points of less, though of no little importance towards laying down a ground for a sincere union between the Churches, —the reverence due to images, the intercession of saints, the commemoration of the dead,—are examined in various parts of his writings; and if the numerous subjects which have thus employed his pen, have not called forth an eloquence like Hooker's, they are at least marked with a penetration, judgment, learning, and logical ability, in no degree inferior to his great predecessor's.

It seemed, therefore, not undesirable at the present time, when so much attention is directed to the early divines of this Church, and the works of this author have grown into greater request, to reprint this "Discourse of the Right of the Church in a Christian State." A new edition of any of the writings of this divine, the Publisher believes, would have entitled him to the thanks of all who love the Catholic and Apostolical Church of this kingdom, of which this writer was so able and eminent a member and defender; but he was induced to select this Discourse more especially, and to reprint it entirely, with care and accuracy, partly from its being, perhaps, the scarcest of all,—partly from its subject-matter, which is peculiarly interesting at this time,—partly because it contains the germs of those principles, which were more fully developed by the author in his larger and subsequent works. It was originally intended to have prefixed a life of the writer, with some of his unpublished letters to Dr. Sancroft, but as it was feared that such an addition might swell the volume to too large an extent, already increased beyond its original size by the Appendix and Index, it has been thought advisable to defer it to another opportunity.

King's College, London,
May 1841.

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

R I G H T

OF THE

CHURCH

IN A

Christian State.

BY

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

LONDON:

Printed by *M. F.* for OCTAVIAN PULLEN,
at the sign of the *Rose* in S. *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1649.

TO THE READER.

AT the beginning of these troubles, I published a short discourse, of "The Primitive Government of Churches," and after it a larger, of "The Apostolical form of Divine Service at the Assemblies of the Church;" thinking it easy to infer what ought to be done, if it could be made to appear what the apostles had done. Since that time, congregations have been erected, and presbyteries ordained, though with some tincture of Erastus his doctrine, which dissolveth all ecclesiastical power into the secular, in states that are Christian. Here I thought it worth the while to try, how the reasons heretofore advanced might be improved, not only to establish the society of the Church upon the power of the keys granted by our Lord, or to declare what persons, and upon what terms, it is trusted with on behalf of the Church, and every part of it (which I had begun to do afore), but in what right and interest the secular power concurs to the effect of it, in establishing or reforming the Church of any Christian state. This is the reason that I refer so often to those two discourses, in-

tending at the first but to supply and improve what I had said; but finding by the process, that I could not compass the brevity which I first aimed at, I have added a Review, whereby as some parts are enlarged, so the whole perhaps remains not so suitable, because other points, that might seem to require the like enlargement, are left as they were, because an end must be made. My reasons are general to all states, and all parts of the Church; and that generality will make them obscure, to such as consider them not as the consequence of the subject deserves. But it is well, if a subject containing so great difference of particulars, can be comprised in any general truth. Many things might have been better said, could all have been copied again; but a single heart will make the best of all that, which is tendered with no other design, but to remonstrate how hard it is, and yet to show how it is possible, to keep or recover the conscience of a good Christian in such a trial as this. I had a desire to have added herewith, to the other two discourses, a review of some passages, which those things which I have said here give me occasion to enlarge. But the delays of the press, and my absence, enforce me to defer it till opportunity serve.

THE CONTENTS OF THE SEVERAL CHAPTERS.

CHAP. I.

PAGE 1 TO 36.

The Church hath no temporal power, but stands by God's privilege of holding assemblies.—The ground of the secular power's interest in Church matters.—The power of the keys what it is, and that it cannot be taken from the Church.

CHAP. II.

PAGE 37 TO 69.

That the whole bodies of Christians, contained in several cities and the territories of them, make several Churches, depending upon the Churches of greater cities; therefore the people is not endowed with the chief power in any Church.

CHAP. III.

PAGE 70 TO 132.

That the chief power of every Church resteth in the bishop and presbyters, attended by the deacons.—That only the power of the keys is convertible with the office of consecrating the Eucharist; and therefore, that there are no lay elders.—The right of the bishop, presbyters, and people, in Church matters.

CHAP. IV.

PAGE 133 TO 199.

Secular persons, as such, have no ecclesiastical power, but may have sovereign power in ecclesiastical matters.—The right of giving laws to the Church; and the right of tithes, oblations, and all consecrations, how origined, how accessory to the Church.—The interest of secular powers in all parts of the power of the Church.

CHAP. V.

PAGE 200 TO 273.

How the Church may be reformed without violating divine right.—What privileges and penalties a Christian state may enforce Christianity with.—The consent of the Church, is the only mark to discern what is the subject of Reformation, and what not.—All war made upon the title of Christianity is unjust, and destructive to it; therefore religion cannot be reformed by force.—Of the present state of Christianity among us, and the means that is left us to recover the unity of the Church.

REVIEW.

CHAPTER I Page 275 to 312
CHAPTER II Page 313 to 336
CHAPTER III Page 337 to 357
CHAPTER IV Page 358 to 384
CHAPTER V Page 385 to 418

THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH IN A CHRISTIAN STATE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH HATH NO TEMPORAL POWER, BUT STANDS BY GOD'S PRIVILEGE OF HOLDING ASSEMBLIES.—THE GROUND OF THE SECULAR POWER'S INTEREST IN CHURCH MATTERS.—THE POWER OF THE KEYS WHAT IT IS, AND THAT IT CANNOT BE TAKEN FROM THE CHURCH.

It is visible to all understandings that there are two states of God's Church; for, there must needs be a great difference between the Church, as it was first established, by the ordinances of the apostles, before the exercise of Christianity was allowed and privileged by the laws of the Roman Empire; and as it now standeth, protected by the laws of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths. And my purpose is here to debate, what power the Church ought to have in this latter state, and what right accrues to secular powers in Church matters, when they profess Christianity, and the maintenance of it: which one dispute will necessarily conclude the chief matters now in compromise, concerning the state of the Church in this kingdom. To understand this aright, we must suppose, that the Church is not endowed with any manner of the secular power of this world, and the

civil societies of it, which constraineth men to obedience by force. For it will be easy for ordinary understandings, after the miserable disputes which this civil war hath advanced, to perceive, that though there be many points of that right, wherein sovereign power consisteth, yet all of them are resolved into the power of the sword: seeing that there is no manner of public act, either of sovereign power, or any derived from it, that could be effectual, as the use of civil society requires, did not all men's senses tell them, that there is force ready to reduce the refractory to obedience.

Now, that our Saviour did, and was to disclaim all title to the sword, is manifest by the Gospel, and the profession of it. For being suspected in his life-time by his enemies, and lastly accused to Pilate, as one that sought to usurp it, his renouncing it so publicly, because it clears him, therefore convinces the injustice of the sentence against him. And truly, what entertainment shall we imagine his Gospel would have found in the world, had it pretended to establish itself by force? For, this profession must needs have produced that effect, which Mahometism did afterwards, to wit, the subversion of all states, which it might prove able to jostle with and to prevail. But, Christianity being first initiated by the cross of Christ, and professing nothing, but to follow him in bearing his cross, it is manifest, that those which saw not reason to believe it, must be convinced that they ought not to persecute it. For, if it preserve the power of the sword, in those hands wherein it is

found, when the Gospel is preached and received any where, then, of necessity, all rights, all goods of this world, in the possession whereof the power of the sword professes to maintain all subjects, are, by the Gospel maintained in those hands, that have them by just title of human right. And so, that which I here suppose, is no more than the received position of divines, that temporal dominion is not founded in grace: for men's rights, powers, and privileges, in civil societies, are no less their own, and concern their estate no less, than their goods and possessions. Therefore, though much more evidence might be brought to prove this, from the apostle's commanding Christians to obey secular powers, children their parents, slaves their masters, wives their husbands, and the like, according to the laws, but above the laws, for conscience to God, obliging thereby all states to maintain Christianity; yet, this being a point, which no party professes to stick at, I will hereupon presume to take it for granted.

But, though the Church is not endowed with any coactive power, by divine right, yet by divine right, and by patent from God, it is endowed with a power of holding assemblies for the common service of God, before any grant of the powers of the world, and against any interdict of them, if so it fall out. For, the communion which the Gospel establisheth among Christians, is not only invisible in the heart, believing the same faith, and disposed to live according to it, but also outwardly visible, not only in the profession of the same faith, which may be common to

those that communicate in nothing else, but also in the common service of God. For, seeing God hath given his Church the ordinances of his worship, wherewith he requireth to be served in common by his Church, some of them common both to the Church and the Synagogue, that is, to Jews and Christians, others, delivered by the Gospel only to the Church, it is manifest that the Church is privileged by God, because commanded, to join in serving him according to those ordinances. And therefore, we are not to ask an express warrant in Scripture for this, whether duty, or privilege, because it was always in force among the people of God, though not always free from the bondage of strangers. The apostle truly, writing to the Hebrews not to fall away from Christianity to Judaism, for the persecutions which the Jews their natives brought upon them, (which, he that will diligently observe, shall find to be the full scope of that Epistle) inferreth, as a consequence, (Heb. x. 25) "not to forsake the assembling of themselves." Shewing that Christianity cannot be professed without so doing, though it bring persecution with it: as, we know the primitive Christians frequented the service of God, when they were in danger of the laws, because, that which the laws forbade, was their assemblies. Wherefore as within several commonwealths, there are particular societies, colleges, and corporations, subsisting by grant of their sovereigns; and as by the law of nations there is a kind of society, and commonwealth, among those that are bound in the same vessel, upon the same voyage,

which Aristotle calls *σύμπλοιαν*, as there is also among them that travel together in the caravans of the east, because they submit to some rule, in regard of some common interest: so must we understand the Church to be a human, though not a civil society, corporation, or commonwealth: not as these last-named, which consist of subjects to several states, warranted and protected by the law of nations; nor as the former, by charter from some sovereign; but by that law of God, whereby all nations are called to serve him, by those ordinances which he hath established in the Church. Therefore the main point of that charter, which makes the Church such a society or commonwealth, is the right of assembling, and holding such assemblies, without warrant, against all law of the world that forbids it: the particulars of it are those rights, which God hath given his Church, to preserve unity and communion in the celebration of those ordinances for which it assembleth. For, since the principles of Christianity profess one Church, and that the unity thereof extendeth to this visible communion, it is manifest hereby, that the will of God is, that all Christians communicate with all Christians, in all ordinances of his service, when occasion requires; a thing which the practice of all sides confesses. For, though this communion be interrupted with so many schisms, yet, since all parties labour to show that the cause of separation is not on their side, they acknowledge all separation to be against God's ordinance, when they labour to clear themselves of the blame of it.

In the next place we are to enquire, upon what title of right, the Church is ingrafted into civil societies and sovereignties; by virtue whereof, secular powers exercise that right to which they pretend in Church matters. For, I perceive those of the Congregations* oftentimes demand, what ground we have in Scripture for national Churches. Now, the term of national Churches, it seems, is something improper, because as one and the same nation may be divided into several sovereignties, and the Churches thereof, by consequence, subject to several sovereigns, so may the same sovereignty contain several nations, and the Churches of them; which, in these cases, are not national Churches, and yet are properly that which is signified by the term of national Churches. But setting aside this exception, I conceive those of the Congregations have reason to make the demand, and that the answer to it, if once well made, will be of consequence, to settle many things in debate. For, that the same right, in matters of religion, is due to Christian princes and states, which the kings of Judah practised under the law, of itself no way appears, because of the general difference between the law and the Gospel. To which may be added, to tie the knot faster, that there is this clear difference between them, in the particular in hand, that the law was confined to one people, as being the condition of that covenant, whereby God undertook to give them the land of promise, and to maintain

* [That is the dissenters.]

them in the free and happy possession of it; they undertaking, on their part, to serve Him, and rule themselves by it: but the Gospel is the new covenant, by which God undertakes to give life everlasting to those that take up Christ's cross to perform it. The persons, therefore, of whom the Church consists, being of all nations, all of them of equal interest, in that wherein they communicate, and therefore in the rules; by which it is manifest that no sovereign can have more interest than another, in creating that right, by virtue whereof the subjects of several sovereignties communicate. Otherwise, the unity of the Church must needs suffer, one sovereign prescribing that as necessary to the communion of the Church in his dominions, which the sovereigns over other parts of the Church, perhaps, allow not. But though, as a divine, I admit this debate, yet as a Christian and a divine both, I condemn the separation which they have made, before it be decided. The Church of England giveth to the king, that power in Church matters, which the kings of God's ancient people, and Christian emperors after them, always practised. This possession was enough to have kept unity, though the reason appeared not why Christian princes should have the same right in the Church as the kings of Judah had in the synagogue. For, if they observe it well, this right is nowhere established upon the kings of God's ancient people, by way of precept, in the law. For, seeing the law commanded them not to have a king, but

gave them leave to have a king when they would, upon such terms as it requireth (Deut. xvii. 14), it cannot be said, that any right in matters of religion is settled upon the king, by that law which never provided that there should be a king. The question is then, not whether the kings of Judah had power in matters of religion, which is express in Scripture, but upon what title they had it, which is not to be had but by interpretation of the law. And this we shall find, if we consider, that the law was given to that people, when they were freed from bondage, and invested in the sovereign power of themselves, as to a body politic, such as they became, by submitting to it. So that, though many precepts thereof concern the conscience of particular persons, yet there are also many, that take hold of the community of the people; for which, particular persons cannot be answerable, further than the rate of that power by which they act in it: as the destroying of malefactors; idolators in particular. These precepts, then, being given to the community of the people, and the common power of the people falling to the king, constituted according to the law aforesaid, it followeth, that being invested with the power, he stands thereby countable for the laws to be enforced by it. And then the question that remains will be no more but this, whether civil societies, and the sovereign powers of them, are called to be Christian, as such, and not only as particular persons. A thing which Tertullian seems to have doubted of,

when he made an *if* of it, (Apologet. cap. xxi.) *Si possent esse Cæsares Christiani*:* "If emperors could be Christians;" and Origen, when he expounds the words of Moses: "I will provoke them to jealousy, by a people which are not a people," (so he reads it) of the Christians, whereof there were some in all nations, and no whole nation professed Christianity (in x. ad Rom. lib. viii. and in Psal. xxxvi. Hom. I.); seems to count this estate and condition, essential to the Church.† But, since anabaptists are no more anabaptists, in denying the power of the sword to be consistent with Christianity, it seems there is no question left about this, as indeed there ought to be none. For, the prophesies, which went before, of the calling of the Gentiles to Christianity, were not fulfilled, till the Roman empire professed to maintain it. And, thereby, the will of God being fulfilled, it is manifest that the will of God is, that civil societies, and the powers of them, should maintain Christianity by their sword, and the acts to which it enableth. But always, with that difference from the synagogue which hath been expressed. For if the Church subsist in several sovereignties, the power which each of them can have in Church matters, must needs be concluded by that power which God hath ordained in his Church, for the determining of

* ["Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares."]

† [See these passages in Appendix No. I.]

such things, the determining whereof shall become necessary to preserve the unity of it.

Thus much premised, the first point we are to debate is; whether excommunication be a secular punishment amounting to an outlawry, or banishment, as Erastus would have it; or the chief act of ecclesiastical power, the power of the spiritual sword of the Church, cutting from the visible communion thereof, such as are lawfully presumed to be cut off from the invisible, by sin. For, if there be a visible society of the Church, founded by God, without dependence from man, there must be in it a visible power, to determine, who shall be or not be members of it; which, by consequence, is the sovereign power in the society of the Church, as the power of the sword is in civil societies. But excommunication in the Synagogue, was a temporal punishment, such as I said; and therefore it is argued, that our Lord meant not of that, when he said, *Dic Ecclesiæ;* that term, in the Old Testament, being used for the congregation of God's people, in the quality of a civil society. And therefore when he addeth, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican," they say it is manifest, that neither ethnics nor publicans were excommunicated out of the Synagogue, nor the excommunicate excluded from the service of God in the temple or Synagogue: and when our Lord addeth, "whatsoever ye bind and loose on earth," it is manifest, say they, in the language of the Jews, used among the Talmud doctors, that bound and loose is nothing else, but that which is declared to be bound or loose, that is, prohibited and permitted; and therefore the

effect of the keys of the Church, which is binding and loosing, reaches no further, than declaring what was lawful, and what unlawful (as to the Jews, by the law of Moses), in point of conscience.*

The first argument that I make against this opinion, is drawn from the power of baptizing, thereby understanding, not the office of ministering, but the right of granting that sacrament: which we in this state of the Church do not distinguish, because all are born within the pale of the Church, and by order thereof baptized infants: but may see a necessary ground so to distinguish by St. Paul, when he denies "that he was sent to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." (1 Cor. i. 17.) Whereas the words of our Lord in the Gospel are manifest, where he chargeth his apostles "to preach and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." For the baptizing of all that should turn Christians, could not be personally commanded the apostles; but to preach to all nations, and to make disciples out of all nations, this they might do to those that might be baptized, by such as they should appoint. We must note, that it is in the original *μαθητεύετε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, *make disciples*, as the Syriac truly translates it: commanding first, to bring men to be disciples, then to baptize. Now disciples are those that were after called Christians, such as we profess ourselves (Acts xi. 26); those of whom

* [See Dr. Hammond, on the power of the keys, Works, vol. 1. p. 220, ed. 1674.]

our Lord saith in the Gospel, that "those that will do his Father's will are his disciples." Wherefore they are commanded to baptize such as should submit to the Gospel: and so, to judge whether each man did so or not, which they that were trusted with the Gospel were, by consequence, trusted to judge. The effect of this trust is seen in the many orders and canons of the primitive Church: by which those that desired to be admitted into the Church by baptism, are limited to the trial of several years, to examine their profession, whether sincere or not; and such as gained their living by such trades as Christianity allowed not, rejected until they renounced them. Not that my intent is to say, that these canons were limited by the apostles: but because it is an argument, that always to judge who shall be admitted to baptism and who not, is another manner of power than to baptize, being the power of them that were able to settle such canons; though it is plain by the Scriptures, that those rules had their beginning from the apostles themselves. For, when St. Peter saith (1 Pet. iii. 21), that "the baptism which saveth us, is not the laying down the filth of the flesh, but the examination of a good conscience to God:" (ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως ἐπερώτημα) he showeth, that the interrogatories which the ancient Church used to propound to them that were to be baptized, were then in use, and established by the apostles, as the condition of a contract between the Church and them, obliging themselves to live according to the gospel, as disciples. And the apostle (Heb. vi. 2), speaking of

" the foundation of repentance from dead works, the doctrine of baptisms and imposition of hands," manifestly shows the succeeding custom of the Church, that they which sued for baptism should be catechized in the doctrine of the gospel, and contract with the Church to forsake such courses of the world as stood not with it, to be brought in by the apostles. This is it which is here called the doctrine of baptisms in the plural number, not for that frantic reason which the distemper of this time hath brought forth, because there are two baptisms, one of John by water, another of Christ by the Spirit; but because it was severally taught several persons before they were admitted to their several baptisms. And therefore called also the doctrine of imposition of hands, because we understand by Clemens Alexandrinus (Pædag. iii. 11),* and by the Apostolical Constitutions (vii. 40), that when they came to the church to be catechized, and were catechized, they were then dismissed by him that catechized them with imposition of hands, that is, with prayer for them, that they might, in due time, become good Christians. All visible marks of the power of the Church, in judging whether a man were fit for baptism or not. To which I will add only that of Eusebius (De Vitâ Constant. iv. [61]), where, speaking of the baptism of Constantine, he saith, ἐξομολογούμενος τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίας εὐχῶν ἠξιοῦτο; that " confessing his sins, he

* [To the same effect speaks Bp. Potter in his note upon this place.]

was admitted to prayer with imposition of hands. If it be said, that there were added to the Church three thousand in a day (Acts ii. 41), which could not be thus catechized and tried, my answer is, that two cases were always excepted from the rule: the first was, in danger of death: the second, when, by the eagerness of those that desired baptism, the hand of God appeared extraordinary in the work of their conversion to Christianity. Besides, it is not said that they were baptized that day, but that "they were added to the Church that day:" which is true, though they only professed themselves disciples for the present, passing nevertheless their examination and instruction, as the case required. If, therefore, there be a power settled in the Church by God, to judge who is fit to be admitted into it, then is the same power enabled to refuse him that shall appear unfit, then, by the same reason, to exclude him, that proves himself unfit, after he is admitted.

This is the next argument which I will ground upon the discipline of penance, as it was anciently practised in the Church; which is opened by the observation in a future page of this little discourse, that those, who, contrary to this contract with the Church, fell into sins destructive to Christianity, were fain to sue to be admitted to penance: which supposeth, that, till they had given satisfaction of their sincerity in Christianity, they remained strangers to the communion of the Church. For, it appeareth, by the most ancient of Church writers, that, for divers ages, the greatest sinners, as apostates, murderers, and

adulterers, were wholly excluded from penance. For Tertullian was a Montanist, when he cried out upon Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, for admitting adulterers to penance, in his book "De Pudicitiâ," yet it is manifest by his case, that it had formerly been refused in the Church, because the granting of it makes him a Montanist. And St. Cyprian (Epist. ad Antonianum) testifieth, that divers African bishops afore him had refused it, maintaining communion nevertheless with those that granted it. Irenæus also (I. 9) saith of a certain woman, that had been seduced and defiled by Marcus the heretic, that, after she was brought to the sight of her sin, by some Christians, she spent all her days in bewailing it: therefore without recovering the communion of the Church again.* And he that shall but look upon the canons of the Eliberitan Council, shall easily see many kinds of sin censured, some of them not to be admitted to the communion till the point, others not at the point of death. In this case, and in this estate, these only who were excluded from being admitted to penance were properly excommunicate; neither could those that were admitted to penance be absolutely counted so, because in danger of death they were to receive the communion, though, in case they recovered, they stood bound to complete their penance. And from hence afterwards also, those that had once been admitted to penance, if they fell into the like sins again, were not to be admitted to penance the second time. (Concil. Tolet.

* [Αὐτὴ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐξομολογουμένη διετέλεσε, πεν θοῦσα, &c. &c. See also Grabe's notes on the place. And above, p. 13.]

III. Can. 11; Eliber. Can. 3 and 7; Ambros. de Pœnit. ii. 10, 11; Innoc. I, Ep. i.; August. Epist. l. and liv.* It is an easy thing to say, that this rigour was an infirmity in the Church of those times, not understanding aright free justification by faith: but as it is manifest, that this rigour of discipline abated more and more, age by age, till that now it is come to nothing: so, if we go upwards and compare the writings of the apostles with the original practice of the Church, it will appear that the rigour of it was brought in by them, because it abated by degrees from age to age, till at length it is almost quite lost: that the reformation of the Church consists in retaining it, that we shall do so much prejudice to Christianity, as we shall, by undue interpretation, make justification by faith inconsistent with it. And, in fine, it will appear, that all penance presupposeth excommunication, being only some abatement of it. "There is a sin unto death," saith the apostle, (1 John v. 16), "I say not that ye pray for it." This is commonly understood of denying God's truth, against that light which convinceth the conscience. Which, if it were true, the apostle's precept could never come into practice, seeing no man can know, unless by revelation, against what light his neighbour sinneth. But the Novatians, at the council of Nice, as Socrates and Sozomenus both report (Eccles. Hist. I. 10, I. 22), answering Constantine, that they refused penance only to those that sinned the *sin unto death*, do give us to understand, that St. John

* [See these and the following passages in Appendix No. II.]

was understood by the Church, not to command that apostates be admitted to penance. And so also Tertullian in many places of his book De Pudicitiâ, as cap. xiv, argueth from this place, that penance was not to be granted to adulterers. Which showeth, that the Church understood the place in the same sense, though it admitted not his consequence. So also, Origen, in Matth. xviii. 18, Tract vii. I was long doubtful of the truth of this interpretation, because the apostle premising, "If any man see his brother sin a sin not unto death, let him ask of God," seems to speak of private prayers of particular persons. But the words of St. James (v. 16), have cleared me of this doubt: "Confess your sins one to another," saith he, "and pray for one another, that ye may be healed;" in which words I make no doubt but he speaketh of public penance. For having premised, that the presbyters be sent for to the sick, that they confess their sins to the presbyters, that they pray for them, anointing them with oil, that their sins may be forgiven them, to show nevertheless, that, according to the custom aforesaid, in case they recovered, they were to stand bound to penance, he addeth, "confess your sins to one another," to signify that this confession and penance remained due before the Church, as we understand by the twelfth canon of Nice, that the practice was so long afterwards. And this is proved by the precept of both apostles, "to pray for one another." For it is manifest, that there were two means to obtain re-

mission of sins, in this case; the humiliation which the Church prescribed, and the penitent performed; and the prayers of the Church, which St. John prescribeth not to be granted to apostates.

The very same is the meaning of the apostle to the Hebrews (vi. 6), when he pronounceth it "impossible that those that fall away be renewed again to repentance." For, as they that stood for baptism, when they were catechised in Christianity, were properly said, ἐγκαινισθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν, to be instructed or dedicated to repentance, because of the repentance from dead works, which they professed; so they that forfeited their Christianity by violating the contract of baptism, are no less properly said, ἀνακαινισθῆναι εἰς μετάνοιαν, to be renewed, instructed, and dedicated again to repentance. And the apostle's reason agrees, for, "because the earth that receives rain, and renders no fruit, is near the curse, therefore the Church will not easily believe, that such a one shall lightly obtain of God the grace to become a sincere Christian. And therefore the apostle says not, that it is impossible that such an one should repent, but "that he should be instructed again to repentance," to wit, by the Church. As the Novatians answered Constantine, that they remitted such persons to God, not prejudicing their salvation, but not admitting them to the means of reconciliation by the Church. And herewith agreeth the example of Esau, used by the apostle, again (xii. 17) saying that "he found not place of repentance;" alluding to that room in

the church, where penitents were placed apart by themselves. And again (x. 26), the allusion which he maketh to the custom under the law understood by the Hebrews to whom he writeth, consisteth in this, that, as there was no sacrifice to be made for apostates, though for ethnics (for this was the use of the law, as we understand by Moses Maimoni in the Title of Dressing Oblations, cap. iii. num. 3, 5), so, the Christian sacrifice, of the prayers of the Church, was not to be offered for those that had renounced Christianity. If it be thus, you will ask, what was the fault of the Novatians, seeing they understood the text right? and my answer is, that nevertheless they are heretics, extending the name of heretics to those whom now we call schismatics, as I have showed you in the little Discourse, p. 197, that it is often used. For St. John, as he commands not, so he forbids not, that they be admitted to penance; the other apostle tells them, *it is impossible*, to let them know they must not expect it: but neither says, that the Church could not give it. When therefore the Church, to preserve unity, was necessitated to grant it, as we see by St. Cyprian, the Novatians were no less schismatics in making separation upon the quarrel (though perhaps the reason be not urged by their adversaries), than if they had understood the text amiss; the unity of the Church being of more moment than much understanding in the Scriptures. And so, perhaps, St. Paul's words will belong to this purpose, 1 Tim. v. 22, as not only the Socinians of late, but Pacianus among the ancients (Paræn. ad Pœni-

tentiam)* and Matthæus Galenus† among modern writers, do expound them: to wit, that when he saith, "Lay hands suddenly on no men, nor partake of other men's sins," he leaves it to Timothy's judgment whom to admit, whom not to admit to penance; because this blessing with imposition of hands, was not the mark of absolution, but of admission to penance, as well as the ceremony of ordinations. And though this text of the apostle be understood in particular of ordinations, yet, by the same reason which he allegeth, it is to be extended to all acts of the Church that are blessed, by the prayers of the Church, with imposition of hands. For if Timothy, by imposing hands upon those whom he ordains, become accessary to their sins, if they be unfit to be ordained; by the same reason, if he impose hands, that is, grant penance unto them that are not fit for it, he becomes accessary to the sins which they commit by being admitted to it. Imposition of hands being nothing else but a ceremony of that benediction, which signifieth, that those acts to which it is granted, are allowed and authorized by the public power of the Church. So imposition of

* [P. 944, ed. Cygneæ, 1655.]

† [Catech. 155. See also Cornelius a Lapide on this passage, who thinks that in this imposition of hands, the apostle had reference to the custom among the Romans, of manumitting slaves by a similar action. In the 12th canon of the 11th Council of Toledo it is said: "Si pro certo mortis urget periculum, pœnitentia per manus impositionem accepta statim ei reconciliatio adhibenda est."]

hands in Confirmation, is the admission of him that is confirmed to the communion of the visible Church; in penance the restoring of him; in Ordination, to the exercise of this or that function in the Church. Prayer over the sick, which the apostle commands, (James v. 14), and our Lord, in the gospel, made with imposition of hands, signified the admitting of the sick to penance; and it is said, that in some eastern churches, to this day, marriages are blessed with imposition of hands, in signification that the Church alloweth of them, which, as it was always the right of the Church to do, as I shall observe in another place, so it appeareth so to be, in that marriage was never celebrated among Christians without the prayers of the Church. And this observation I insist upon the more cheerfully, because it much strengtheneth the argument, which the Church maketh, for the baptism of infants, from the act of our Saviour in the gospel, when he blessed the infants with imposition of hands. For if all imposition of hands be an act of the public power of the Church, allowing that which is done with it, then can this imposition of hands signify no less than that those to whom our Lord granteth it belong to his kingdom of the visible Church. One little objection there lies against this, from the incestuous person at Corinth, whom St. Paul, in his second epistle, seems to re-admit to communion, his crime being as deep as adultery, which, we say, the rigour of apostolical discipline admitted not to penance. To which I have divers things to answer. That this

cannot be objected, but by him that acknowledges that he was excommunicate by the former epistle. That Tertullian, in his book De Pudicitiâ, disputes at large that it is not the same case which is spoken of in both epistles. That the crime here specified, perhaps, is not of the number of those which from the beginning were excluded from penance.* But, waiving all this, as I excepted two cases, in which men were baptized without regular trial, so supposing the rule to take hold in this case, it is no inconvenience to grant that St. Paul might waive the rigour of discipline so settled, as supposing there might be cause to waive it. If this opinion seem new, my purpose requires but these two points, that the penance practised by the ancient Church, supposed excommunication, which it only abateth: and that it was instituted by the apostles; and, for that, there is enough said, I suppose, even to them that believe not, that the apostles excluded any kind of crimes from penance. Besides that of St. Paul, blaming the Corinthians that "they were puffed up, and had not rather lamented, that he that had done the evil might be put from among them." (1 Cor. v. 2.) And again, fearing that "when he returned, he should be forced to lament many." (2 Cor. xii. 21.) Which, if we compare with the primitive solemnity of excommunication, which by the Constitutions of the Apostles (ii. 16), and other ways, we understand,

* [See some further observations of our author on this passage, in his Epilogue, i. 18.]

was to put the person out of the church doors with mourning, it will appear that Epiphanius is in the right in expounding this latter text to this purpose. (Hær. lix. num. 5.)* The power of excommunication then, by all this, is no more than the necessary consequence of the power of admitting to communion by baptism; which, if it imply a contract with the Church to live according to the rule of Christianity, then it is forfeit to him that evidently does that, which cannot stand with that rule, and the Church not tied to restore it, but as the person can give satisfaction, to observe it for the future.

Now, I will make short work with Erastus's long labour, to prove that there is no excommunication commanded by the law. I yield it; and make a consequence which will be thought a strange one: but I have it from the speculation of Origen, in Levit. Hom. xi. and others, why the Church should only be enabled to excommunicate, whereas the synagogue was enabled to put to death? From the observation of St. Augustine, (Quæst. in Deuteronom. v. 39, de Fide et Operibus, cap. ii.) and others, that excommunication in the Church is the same that the power of life and death is in the synagogue. My argument is then, that the Church is to have the power of excommunication, because the synagogue had the power of life and death. And the reason of the consequence this: because, as the law, being the

* [ὡς δεικνύς, ὅτι εἰ καὶ παρέπεσαν καὶ μετενόησαν εἰσδεκτοὶ οὗτοι γίνονται.]

condition of the covenant by which the benefit of the commonwealth of Israel was due, enabled to put to death such as destroyed it: so the gospel being the condition of the covenant, that makes men denizens of the spiritual Jerusalem, must enable to put them from the society thereof that forfeited it. It is not my intent hereby to say that there was no excommunication under the law: for, I do believe, that we have mention of it in Ezra, (x. 8), grounded, if I mistake not, upon the commission of the king of Persia, recorded Ezra vii. 26; for, that which is here called "rooting out," seems to be the same that is called in the other place, "dividing from the synagogues of the captives." Being, indeed, a kind of temporal outlawry, to which is joined confiscation of goods. For, so saith Luther truly, that the greater excommunication among Christians is everywhere a temporal punishment, to wit, in regard of some temporal punishment attending it in Christian states; which, in Christianity, is accidental by act of those states, in Judaism essential, so long as those temporal advantages, which were the essential condition of the law, were not forfeited. And this without doubt is the same punishment which the gospels call "putting out of the synagogue:" though, I cannot say so peremptory for the temporal effects of it: which several sovereigns could easily limit to several terms. For, the right that Ezra might have to introduce this penalty, is clear by the law of Deut. xvii. 12, which, enabling to put them to death that obeyed not the synagogue, enabled to excommuni-

cate, to banish, to outlaw them much more. But, as we see, the Romans allowed them not the power of life and death, which the Persians granted them, so I am not to grant, that, putting out of the Synagogue in the Gospel, implieth the extinguishing of the civil being of any Jew. The Talmud doctors say, that, those that were under the greater excommunication, were to dwell in a cottage alone, and to have meat and drink brought them till they died. (*Arba Turin*, or *Shulchan Auroh*, in *Jore Dea*, *Hilcoth Nidui Veherem*.)* A speculation suitable to their condition in their dispersions, which, no man is bound to believe how far it was in force and practice. But, suppose the Synagogue in the same condition with the Church afore Constantine, enjoying no privilege, but to serve God according to the law, as the Church according to the Gospel: and, then as the Synagogue must always have power to excommunicate, which had power to put to death; so, I say, is the Church enabled by our Lord to do, what I have shewed the apostles did do, by Matt. xviii. 18. I yield, that the terms of *binding and loosing*, are used by the Jews, to signify, the declaring of what is prohibited and permitted by the law :† but I yield not, that it can be so understood here, because the ground of this declaration ceaseth under the Gospel; being derived from the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the law, and from the power of the priests and doctors to determine all cases, which the law had not deter-

[* See Hammond "On the Keys," p. 218.]

[† See Buxtorf (Lexicon Talmud.), in v. נדוי]

mined, in dependence upon the great consistory at Jerusalem, by the law of Deut. xvii. 12, which precepts, and which power, being voided by the Gospel, can any man think that the power of *binding and loosing* here given the Church, is to be understood of it? Besides, it is in the promise made to St. Peter, (Matt. xvi. 19) said expressly, to be the act of the power of the keys. And what is that? Is it not an expression, manifestly borrowed from that which is said to Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, (Is. xxii. 22): "I will give thee the keys of the house of David:" whereupon our Lord (Apoc. iii. 7) is said to have *the key of David*, that is, the house of David? whereby the apostles under our Lord, are made stewards of the Church, as Eliakim of the court, to admit and exclude whom he pleased. And so it is manifest, that the power of the keys, given St. Peter, (Matt. xvi. 19) as the Church, (Matt. xviii. 18) is that power which you have seen practised under the apostles, of admitting to, and excluding from the Church, by baptism and penance. So St. Cyprian expressly understandeth the power of the keys to consist in baptizing (Ep. lxxiii.) and of penance, that which followeth is an express argument, as I have observed p. 129 of that short discourse: for having said, "whatsoever ye bind," he addeth immediately, "again I say to you, that if two of you agree to ask anything, it shall be done you by my Father in heaven."* For the means of pardon, being the humiliation of the

[* For this and the remaining quotations in this chapter, see Append. v.]

penitent, enjoined by the Church, and joined with the prayers thereof, as hath been said, the consequence of our Saviour's discourse, first of informing the Church, then of binding and loosing, lastly of granting the prayers of the Church, shews that he speaks of those prayers, which should be made in behalf of such, as were bound, for not hearing the Church; and hereby we see, how binding and loosing of sins is attributed to the keys of the Church. Which, being made a visible society, by the power of holding assemblies, to which no man is to be admitted till there be just presumption that he is of the heavenly Jerusalem, that is above: as the power of judging, who is and who is not thus qualified, presupposes a profession, so that, an instruction, obliging the obedience of them, which seek remission of sins by the Gospel, and therefore confidently assuring it to them which conform themselves, In a word, because, admitting to, or excluding from the Church, is, or ought to be, a just and lawful presumption of admitting to or excluding from heaven, it is morally and legally the same act that entitleth to heaven, and to the Church, that maketh an heir of life everlasting, and a Christian, because he that obeyeth the Church, in submitting to the Gospel, is as certainly a member of the invisible, as of the visible Church. Herewith agree the words of our Lord, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican." Not as if heathens could be excommunicate the Synagogue, who never were of it, or as if the Jews then durst excommunicate publicans, that levied taxes for the Romans:

but because, by their usage of publicans and Gentiles, it was proper for our Lord to signify how he would have Christians to use the excommunicate; there being no reason why he can be thought, by these words, to regulate the conversation of the Jews, in that estate, so long as the law stood, but to give his Church rules, to last till the world's end. The Jews then abhorred the company, not only of idolaters, to testify how much they abhorred idols, and to maintain the people in detestation of them (by ceremonies brought in by the guides of the Synagogue, for that purpose), but all those that conversed with idolaters. For this cause, we see, they murmur against our Lord, for eating with publicans; they wash when they come from market, where commonly they conversed with Gentiles; and, which is strange, such as Cornelius was, being allowed to dwell among them by the law, professing one God, and taking upon them the precepts of the sons of Noe, yet are the converted Jews scandalized at St. Peter, for eating with Cornelius (Acts xi. 2). These rules are made void by the Gospel; for St. Paul tells the Corinthians expressly, that they are not to forbear the company of the Gentiles, for those sins which their profession imported; but if a Christian live in any of those heathen vices, with him, they are not so much as to eat (1 Cor. v. 11), to wit, as it followeth immediately, being condemned by the Church upon such a cause: for, saith he, "What have I to do to judge them that are without? do not ye judge those that are within? but those that are without, God judg-

eth: and ye shall take the evil man from among you." That is, are not you, by the power you have of judging those that are within, to take away him that hath done evil, leaving to God to judge those without? Here the case is plain, there is power in the Church to judge, and take away offenders: of which power the apostle speaks (Tit. iii. 11), when he says, that "Heretics are condemned of themselves," if we follow St. Hierom's exposition, which seems unquestionable. For experience convinces, that most heretics think themselves in the right; so far they are from condemning themselves, in their consciences. But they condemn themselves, by cutting off themselves from the Church, which other sinners are condemned to by the Church. Neither is it anything else than excommunication which the apostle signifieth, by delivering to Satan (1 Cor. v. 5), saving, that he expresseth an extraordinary effect, that followed it in the apostles' time, to wit, that those which were put out of the Church became visibly subject to Satan, inflicting plagues and diseases on their bodies, which might reduce them to repentance, which the apostle calleth the "destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." As he saith of Hymenæus and Philetus (1 Tim. i. 20): "whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." For it is not to be doubted, that the apostles had power, like that which St. Peter exercised on Ananias and Sapphira, thus to punish those that opposed them, as St. Paul divers times intimates in the texts which I

have quoted in another place; provided by God, as the rest of miraculous graces, to evidence his presence in the Church.

These particulars, which I huddle up together by the way, might have been drawn out into several arguments, but I content myself with the consequence, by which the patent of this power in the Gospel is cleared, upon which patent all the power of the Church is grounded. That is, if Christians are only to abstain from eating with excommunicate persons, as Jews did with publicans and Gentiles, then excommunication is to be understood when our Lord saith, "let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican." As for that which is said, that the excommunicate among the Jews were not excluded either temple or synagogue, therefore it was a secular punishment, it is a mistake. That which the Jews call נדוי was not excommunication no more than that which the Constitutions of the Apostles call ἀφορισμὸς, which is the same, being but a step to it, like that which is now commonly called the less excommunication; and therefore, he that was under this censure among the Jews, was but in part removed from the communion, as well of sacred as civil society; for it hath been showed very learnedly in the book of the "Power of the Keys,"* that he stood as much removed from the one as from the other, because that, as well in the synagogue as at home, no man was to come within his four cubits. But when the Talmud

[* By Dr. Hammond; published in 1647. The passage to which Thorndike refers is at p. 239.]

doctors determine that the excommunicate dwell in a cottage apart, and have sustenance brought him, such an one was past coming into the temple or synagogue. And so, I suppose, was he that was put out of the Synagogue for acknowledging our Lord Christ to be a true prophet (John ix. 35). For they which afterwards were wont to curse all his followers in their synagogues, as Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph.* and Epiphanius, Hær. xxx. tell us, that they did in their time, are not like to endure in their society, whether sacred or civil, him that, in their interpretation, was fallen from Moses. And thus i the power of the keys clearly grounded upon this charter of the gospel, and all the right of the Church upon it.

Only one objection yet remains, which to me hath always seemed very difficult, for it is manifest that our Lord speaketh here of matters of interest between party and party, when he saith, "If thy brother offend thee;" and it may justly seem strange, that our Lord should give the Church power to excommunicate those that will not stand to the sentence of the Church in such matters. But so it is. The Jews in their dispersions were fain to have recourse to this penalty to enforce the jurisdiction of their own bodies, lest, if causes should be carried thence before heathen courts, God's name should be blasphemed, and the Gentiles scandalized at his people, saying, "See what peace and right there is among those that profess the true God?" For the same

* [P. 169, ed. Thirlby.]

causes our Lord here estateth the same power upon the Church; whereof I cannot give a more sufficient and effectual argument, than by showing that it was in use under the apostles; though the place out of which I shall show this is hitherto otherwise understood, because men consider not that it is not against Christianity, that there be several seats for several ranks and dignities of the world in the Church, and therefore that it is not that which the apostle finds fault with (James ii. 1), when he forbids them "to have the faith of God with respect of persons." But the synagogue which he speaketh of in the next words, is to be understood of the court where they judged the causes and differences between members of the Church. For that the Jews were wont to keep court in their synagogues, we learn, not only by the Talmud doctor, Maimoni by name, in the title Oaths, cap. ix. where he speaketh particularly of an oath made in the synagogue when the court sat there, but by that which we find in the New Testament, Matth. x. 17, xxiii. 34, Mark xiii. 9, Acts xxii. 19, xxvi. 11, as well as in Epiphanius, Hær. xxx. that they used to scourge in their synagogues; to wit, where sentence was given, there justice was executed; wherefore, being converted to Christianity, they held the same course, as appears by the words of the apostle that follow: "Do ye not make a difference among yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?" And again: "If ye respect persons, ye commit sin, being reproved by the law." By what law, but that which saith, "Thou shalt not respect

persons in judgment?" Lev. xix. 15. For the execution of that law it is expressly provided, by the Jews' constitutions, in Maimoni, Sanedrim, cap. xxi. that when a poor man and a rich plead together, the rich shall not be bid to sit down, and the poor stand or sit in a worse place, but both sit, or both stand, which, you see, is the particular for which the apostle charges them "to have the faith of Christ with respect of person;" that is, to show favour in the causes of Christians, according to their persons. The same course, we may well presume, was settled by the apostles at Corinth, by the blame St. Paul charges them with, for going to law before infidels (1 Cor. vi. 1, 2), for how should he blame them for doing that which they had not order before not to do? And therefore if our Lord, in this place, give the Church power to excommunicate those that stand not to the sentence of the Church, much more those that violate the Christianity which they have professed. And this is also here expressed, when, from the particular he goes to the general, saying, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth," giving thereby the same power to the Church here, which he gave to St. Peter (Matth. xvi. 19), and to the apostles (John xx. 22). And so we have here two heads of the causes of excommunication: the first, of such things as concern the conscience and salvation of particular Christians, when they commit such sins as destroy Christianity; the second, of such as concern the community of the Church and the unity thereof, in which, not the act, but the contumacy, the not hearing of the Church, makes them subject to this sentence.

It is not my purpose to say that these nice reasons are to be the title, upon which the right of the Church to this power standeth or falleth: but, that being in possession of it, upon a title as old as Christianity, and demonstrable by the same evidence, it cannot be ejected out of this possession, by anything in the Scripture when it is rightly understood. One objection there is more, in consequence to this last reason, that, if the Church have power to sentence civil causes of Christians, and by excommunication to enforce that sentence, when states profess Christianity, all civil laws will cease, and all judicatories be resolved into one consistory of the Church. The answer to this I defer till I come to show the right of the states that profess Christianity, in Church matters, where it will easily appear how this inconvenience ceaseth. In the meantime, the sovereign power of the Church consisting in the sword of excommunication, upon which the society thereof is founded, it is necessarily manifest, that this power is not lost to the Church, nor forfeit to the state, that professes Christianity, and undertakes the protection of the Church. For the Church, and civil societies, must needs remain distinct bodies, when the Church is engrafted into the state, and the same Christians members of both, in regard of the relations, rights, and obligations, which, in the same persons remain distinct, according to the distinct societies, and qualities of several persons in the same. Therefore, as I said in the beginning, that no Christian, as a Christian, can challenge any temporal right by his

Christianity, which, the state wherein he is called to be a Christian, giveth him not: so on the other side, no man, by his rank in any state, is invested with any power proceeding from the foundation of the Church, as it is the Church. So, that which is true in the parts, holds in the whole. The Church is endowed with no temporal right, therefore the state is endowed with no ecclesiastical right, though it hath great right in ecclesiastical matters, of which in due time. For, all this right supposeth the Church already established by that power on which it standeth, and so must maintain it, upon the same terms which it findeth. The homage which the Church payeth to God, for the protection of the state, is, not to betray the right, founded on the express charter of God, to powers subsisting by the works of his mediate providence: but, to subdue subjects to that obedience for conscience, which the state exacteth by force. For there is necessarily this difference between the principles upon which the Church and civil communities subsist. The charter of the one is revealed by grace; the others stand upon the laws of nature and nations, and acts, which Providence enables men to do agreeable to the same. Therefore, as no state stands by the gospel, so no right settled by the gospel can belong to any state, or person, as a member of any state. Besides, kingdoms and states have their several bounds: many sovereignties are contained in Christendom, whereas the Church is, by God's ordinance, one visible society of all Christians: now it is manifest, first, that there are some things which

equally concern the whole Church and all parts of it: secondly, that in things which concern the whole Church, no part thereof, in any state or kingdom, can be concluded by that state or kingdom. Again, the apostle's rule is, (1 Cor. vii. 24) that every man abide in the state wherein he is called to be a Christian: and this proves, that no Christian can challenge any temporal right by his Christianity, because states subsist before they are Christian: therefore it proves also, that no state, or member of it, is, by being such, endowed with any right, grounded on the constitution of the Church. And therefore, seeing the Church subsisted three hundred years before any state professed Christianity, whatsoever rights it used during that time, manifestly it ought, therefore, still to use and enjoy: this being the most pertinent evidence to show the bounds of it. In particular, as to the power of the keys, and excommunication, the act of it, seeing the intent of it is, to admit into the visible society of the Church, upon presumption, that by the right use of it, sin is taken away, and the person admitted to the invisible society of life everlasting; and, seeing no commonwealth, no quality in any, pretendeth to take away sin, or to judge in whom it is taken away, it followeth, that no man whatsoever, by virtue of any rank, in any state, is qualified to manage this power, or can presume so to do.

CHAPTER II.

THAT THE WHOLE BODIES OF CHRISTIANS, CONTAINED IN SEVERAL CITIES AND THE TERRITORIES OF THEM, MAKE SEVERAL CHURCHES, DEPENDING UPON THE CHURCHES OF GREATER CITIES—THEREFORE THE PEOPLE IS NOT ENDOWED WITH THE CHIEF POWER IN ANY CHURCH.

HAVING seen thus far upon what patent the community of the Church is established, and the power thereof founded, it will be necessary further to dispute, in what hands this power is deposited by the apostles, and what persons are trusted with it: which point before it be voided, we can neither determine what form of government God hath ordained in his Church, nor how it may be exercised in Christian states, without crossing the right which they challenge in Church matters. The Presbyterians, having designed several Presbyteries, for the government of several congregations, that assemble together for the service of God, and having cried up this design for the throne of Christ, the new Jerusalem, and the kingdom of God, seeing there is no question made, that where there is a Presbytery there is a Church, and where there is a Church there is the power of the keys, which God hath endowed his Church with, seem to have given those of the Congregations occasion to infer, that every congregation that assembles for the common service of God, is, by

consequence, to have the power of the keys to excommunicate: whereunto adding another principle, that the chief power of every congregation is in the people, it follows, that they are all absolute, without dependence on the rest of the Church. But all this while, both run away with a presumption, for which they can show us never a tittle or syllable of evidence in all the Scriptures. For presbyters and Presbyteries they may show us in the Scriptures, and no grand mercy, unless they can show us how to understand them better than they do: but, that every congregation, that assembles together to serve God in common, should have a company of presbyters for the government of it, is a thing so contrary to all the intelligence we have concerning the state of the Church, either under the apostles themselves, by the Scriptures, or any primitive records of the Church, or in the succeeding ages of the Church, that they must demand of all men to renounce common sense, and all faith of historical as well as divine truth, before they can believe it. Whereas, by the same evidence by which the rest of Christianity is conveyed and commended unto us, that is, by the Scriptures, interpreted by the original and universal practice of the Church, it will appear, that the apostles, planting Christianity not only in those cities where they preached most, because there the harvest was greatest, but in the countries adjoining, which, by the custom of all civil nations, everywhere resort to their cities for justice, designed the several bodies of Christians, that should be found abiding in several

cities, and the territories of the same, to make several churches, the government whereof they planted in those cities, both for themselves and for the countries that resorted unto them: and as in the civil government of all civil people, particular cities depend upon mother cities, heads of provinces, governments, or sovereignties, so the Churches of particular cities to depend upon the Churches of those mother cities, that, by the union and correspondence of those Churches, drawing along with them all the Churches under them, the unity of the whole Church, consisting of them all, might be established and entertained. This is the effect of that observation which I advanced in the little Discourse in page 16, that whereas it is said (Acts xiv. 23), "that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters in every church;" St. Paul saith that he left Titus in Crete, "to ordain presbyters in every city" (Tit. i. 5); and again (Acts xvi. 4), "as they passed by the cities, they delivered unto them the decrees determined by the apostles and presbyters at Jerusalem." "The cities," of which he had said before, that "they ordained presbyters in every church," planted in those cities, as Titus in every city. So nice as this evidence may seem, to those that consider not the state of the whole Church, when it shall appear to any man, as to all that consider with their eyes open it must appear, that always, everywhere, all congregations of Christians, remaining in the country adjoining to any city, made one Church with the Christians of that city; common sense will enforce, that the apostles' design was the

model, from which this form was copied out, in all parts of the Church.

To which purpose we are to consider, in the next place, an excellent observation of that pious and learned prelate, the lord primate of Ireland, published in a little discourse, of the original of bishops, upon the Seven Churches of Asia, to which St. John is commanded to direct that epistle, contained in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse. The observation consists in this, that the seven cities, wherein those seven Churches are said to be, were seven chief cities, or mother cities of the province of Asia; whereby it is manifest that the chief Churches, upon which inferior Churches were to depend, were planted in the chief mother-cities, to which the countries about them resorted for justice. For, certainly, no man will offer such violence to his own common-sense as to say, that there were, at the time of writing this epistle, but seven congregations of Christians in that province, where St. Paul first, and after him St. John, had taken such pains. And if more congregations, but only seven Churches, for what reason, but because many congregations make but one Church, when they are under the city in which that Church is planted? There hath been, indeed, an objection made, from the words of this epistle, when it is said at the end of the address to every particular Church, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches:" the address beginning always thus, "To the Church of Ephesus, thus saith the Spirit:"—

"To the Church of Smyrna, thus saith the Spirit," and so of the rest. The objection pretendeth that by these words it appears that there were, in Ephesus, for example, many Churches, constituting the presbytery of that city, which is there called the Church of Ephesus. For if this were so, I would acknowledge that this argument were overthrown and that Churches were not convertible with cities, but that many Churches are here called the Church of Ephesus, because the seat of the Presbytery was at Ephesus, according to the Presbyterian design. But this objection, both carries with it an answer to discover the mistake upon which it is grounded, and draws after it an effectual argument to choke the opinion which it supports. For, is not St. John expressly commanded (Apoc. i. 11) to "write and send one letter to all those seven Churches"? and can any man be so senseless, as, when it is said, "What the Spirit saith to the Churches," to understand, several Churches, of Ephesus, Smyrna, and the rest, and not the seven Churches, to which the one letter is directed? and therefore the argument stands good, that in these seven cities, there were but seven Churches, and that the letter is directed to these mother Churches, planted in the mother cities; because inferior cities, receiving their Christianity from them, were to depend upon them, for the regulation of all things concerning the exercise of it: as the original and universal condition and state of the Church convinces. Now the argument, which this objection and the answer draws after it, is this,

that in all the New Testament, you shall never find any mention of several Churches in any city, as Rome, Ephesus, Antiochia, Jerusalem: but, when there is speech of any province, be it never so small, you shall find mention of a plural number of Churches in it. For, of the Churches of Asia, Syria, Cilicia, Macedonia, Achaia, Galatia, Judea, and Samaria, and of the Hebrews in their dispersions, we find express mention upon several occasions (Acts ix. 31; viii. 5, 40; xv. 41; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 23; 1 Thes. ii. 14; Apoc. i. 11: ii. 7, 11, 17, 29; iii. 6, 13, 22). Though Samaria, among the rest, were a province of no great extent, yet, for example, you have, in that province, the city whereof Simon Magus was, called Gittha, saith Epiphanius, Hær. xxi. now a village, but in those days a city, saith he; (of which Acts viii. 5: "and Philip went down to a city of Samaria," not *the city*, as we translate it) and Cæsarea, which Josephus shews us was in that province. (xxi. 7.) Now tell me, what reason can be given for this, by any man that will pretend to understand either Scripture or any record of learning, but that Churches are convertible with cities? For had there been many Churches within the city of Ephesus, for example, of parallel power and privilege, making up one class or Presbytery, or whatsoever new name can be given a new thing, without the least syllable of example, from the apostles to Calvin, must not these have been called the Churches, not the Church of Ephesus?

I come now to a very express mark of this depend-

ence, during the time and in the actions of the apostles, and therefore, by their order, acknowledged not only by themselves, but by all employed by them, in the planting of the Churches: and it is the going of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, in behalf of the Churches of Syria and Cilicia, troubled by some that taught at Antiochia, from whence those Churches received their Christianity, that Christians are to keep the law of Moses. (Acts xiii. 1; xv. 1.) For, were not Paul and Barnabas able to resolve this question at Antiochia, Paul especially protesting, "That he received not the doctrine of the gospel which he preached from man, or by man" (Gal. i. 1), who is constrained, both to the Galatians and elsewhere, to oppose his calling, as a bulwark, against all that laboured to bring Judaism into the Church? Surely, in regard of the thing, they were, but in regard of authority to the Church, they were not. Barnabas was employed by the apostles to Antiochia, who found Christians there, but made them a Church, by ordering their assemblies. (Acts xi. 20, 24, 25, 26.) And he it was that first brought Saul into that service, by his authority from the apostles; though, afterwards, both of them were extraordinarily employed by the Holy Ghost to preach the gospel and plant Churches. (Acts xiii. 1.) All this while the Church could not look upon Saul in the quality and rank of the twelve apostles, which afterwards, he shows us, was acknowledged by the twelve themselves, at Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 8, 9); to wit, when he went to Jerusalem with Barnabas about this

question (Acts xv. 1); for I can see no reason to doubt that all that he speaks of there passed during the time of this journey. And, in the meantime, it was easy, for those that stood for the law, to pretend revelation from God, and authority from the apostles, in matter of Christianity, as well as Paul and Barnabas. What possible way was there then to end this difference but that of the apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 33: "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, for God is not the God of unquietness, but of peace, as in all Churches of the saints?" Whereupon, vindicating this authority, and challenging obedience to his order, even from prophets, which might be lifted up with revelations, to oppose, he addeth, "Came the word of God from you, or came it to you alone? If any man think himself a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge the things that I write you, to be the commandments of God." That is, that apostles being trusted to convey the gospel to the world, were to be obeyed, even by prophets themselves, as the last resolution of the Church, in the will of God, granting his revelations with that temper, that, as one prophet might see more in the sense, effect, and consequence of revelations granted to another, than himself could do, in which regard "the spirits of the prophets were to be subject to the prophets;" so, for the public order of the Church, all were to have recourse to the apostles, whom he had trusted with it. If then, the Church of Antiochia, in which were many prophets, and among them such as Paul and Barnabas, endowed with the immediate

revelations of the Holy Ghost (Acts xiii. 1), must resort to Jerusalem, the seat of the apostles, to be resolved in matters concerning the state of the Church, how much more are we to believe, that God hath ordained that dependence of Churches, without which the unity of no other human society can be preserved, when he governeth them not, but by human discretion of reasonable persons? Besides, we are here to take notice, that the Church of Antiochia being once resolved, the Churches of Syria and Cilicia are resolved by the same decree. (Acts xvi. 4.) Because, being planted from thence, they were to depend upon it for the rule and practice of Christianity. Therefore it is both truly and pertinently observed, that the decree made at Jerusalem was local, and not universal, which, had it been made for the whole Church, there could not have been that controversy, which we find was at Corinth, by St. Paul (1 Cor. viii. 1), about eating things offered to idols; neither could the apostle give leave to the Corinthians, to eat them materially, as God's creatures, not formally, as things offered to idols, as he does (1 Cor. viii. 7), had the body of the apostles at Jerusalem absolutely forbid the eating of them to Gentile Christians, for avoiding the scandal of the Jewish Christians. But, because the decree concerned only the Church of Antiochia, and so by consequence the Churches depending upon it, therefore, among those that depended not upon it, for whom the rule was not intended, it was not to be in force.

There is yet one reason behind, which is the

ground of all, from the original constitution of the synagogue. Moses, by the advice of Jethro, ordained the captains of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, to judge the causes of the people, under himself. (Exod. xviii. 24, 25.) To himself God joined afterwards seventy persons for his assistance. (Num. xi. 16.) But these captains were to be in place but during the pilgrimage of the wilderness; for, when they came to be settled in the land of promise, the law provideth that "judges and ministers be ordained in every city" (Deut. xvi. 18); who, if there fell any difference about the law, were to repair to Jerusalem, to the successors of Moses, and his consistory, for resolution in it (Deut. xvii. 12); by which law, wheresoever the ark should be, this consistory was to sit, as inferior consistories in all inferior cities. Most men will marvel what this is to my purpose, because most men have a prejudice that the power of the Church is to be derived from the rights and privileges of the priests and Levites during the law, though there be no reason for it. For these rights and privileges were not only temporary, to vanish when the gospel was published, but also while the law stood, but local and personal, not extending beyond the temple, or land of promise, over any but their own tribe. But it is very well known that, from the time of the Grecian empire, and partly afore it, Judaism subsisted in all parts wheresoever the Jews were dispersed, and that wheresoever it subsisted, there were the people to be governed and regulated in the observation of the law, and the

public worship of God, according to the same, frequented also all over the land of promise, whereas the temple stood but in one place. It is also manifest that this law, which gave the consistory power of life and death, to preserve the body of that people in unity, and to prevent schisms upon different interpretations of the law, was found requisite to be put in practice in their dispersions; to wit, as to the determining of all differences arising out of the law, not as to the power of life and death to enforce such sentences, this power being seldom granted them by their sovereigns. For at Alexandria, we understand by Philo, in his book "De Legatione ad Caium," that there was such a consistory, as also in Babylonia there was the like, as the Jews' writings tell us; for the little chronicle, which they call "Seder Olam Zuta," gives us the names of the heads thereof for many ages. And, after the destruction of the Temple, it is manifest, not only by their writings, as "Semach David," "Sepher Juchasin," and the like; but by Epiphanius, in the "Heresy of the Ebionites," and the constitutions of the emperors remaining in the codes (Tit. de Judæis et Cœlicolis), that there continued a consistory at Tiberias for many ages, the heads whereof were of the family of David; as Epiphanius, agreeing with the Jews, informeth us in the place aforenamed; and as, by the story of Saul, in the Acts, it appears that the Jews of Damascus were subject to the government at Jerusalem, so by Epiphanius, in the Heresy of the Ebionites, it appears

that the Synagogues of Syria and Cilicia were subject to the consistory at Tiberias, as I have showed out of "Benjamin's Itinerary," in the Discourse of the Apostolical Form of Divine Service (p. 67), that the synagogues of the parts of Assyria and Media were to that in Bagdad; and, without doubt, that great body of Jews dispersed through Egypt was to that at Alexandria. As for the law of Deut. xvii. 18, the Jews need not tell us, as they do, Maimoni by name, (Tit. de Synedrio), that they were not bound to observe that in their dispersions; for how could there be consistories for the Jews in all cities all over the world? but this they tell us, withal, in particular Arba Thurim, in the same title *sub init.* that thereby they hold themselves bound to erect consistories in the chief cities of their dispersions. In this condition, what is the difference between the state of the Synagogue and the Church, setting aside that essential difference between the law and the gospel, by which Judaism was confined to one nation, but Christianity had a promise to be received by the Gentiles: by reason whereof the law ceased, as it was proper to the Jews, and Christians became obliged only to the perpetual law of God, besides a very few positive precepts of our Lord, as of baptism, and the eucharist, and the power of the keys, by virtue whereof, and by the general commission of the apostles, all ordinances whereby they should regulate the society of the Church were to be received as the commandments of God. Here is the reason for which it is probable that the apostles, in

designing the government of the Church, should follow no other pattern than that which they saw in use, by the law, in the synagogue. For, the design in both being to maintain the law of God, and the unity of his people, in his service, saving the difference between them, what form should they follow, but that which the law had taught their forefathers? But, when the effect hereof appears in the first lines of this model, traced by the apostles, and filled up by their successors, it is manifest, that these laws were the pattern, but the order of the apostles the act which put it in being and force. The Churches of Jerusalem, Antiochia, Rome, and Alexandria, no man can deny, were planted by the apostles, in person, and by their deputies. That they became afterwards heads of the Churches that lay about them, is no more than that which the Consistories planted at Jerusalem or Tiberius, and in the chief cities of the Jews' dispersions, were to the synagogues underneath them by virtue of the law. This is therefore the original of the dependence of Churches upon the greatest mother-Churches. And therefore it is no marvel that Jerusalem, once the mother-city of Christianity, because afterwards the seat of a patriarch indeed, in remembrance of that privilege, but inferior in dignity, and nothing comparable in bounds to the rest, because it was none of the greatest and most capital cities: the rule of the apostles' design being this, that the greatest cities should be the seats of the greatest Churches. And that Constantinople, when it came afterwards to be a seat of

the Empire, was put in the next place to the chief; as it was no act of the apostles, so it is an argument of the rule, by which the rest had been ordered, for the same reason. As for the other law of Deut. (xvi. 18) I know not what could be more agreeable to it, than that rule of the ancient Church, which is to be seen, not only in those few ancient canons, alleged, in the Discourse of the Primitive Government of Churches, p. 67, but in innumerable passages of Church writers, that cathedral churches and cities be convertible, that is, both of the same extent.

Thus the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans, is inscribed *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ, τῇ προκαθημένῃ ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων.* The precedence here expressed, argueth the eminence of that Church above the rest of the Churches about it; but Clemens directeth his epistle from the Church of Rome to that at Corinth thus: *ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥωμην, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον,* whereby we understand, that the country lying under the city, belonged to the Church founded in the city, and was therefore called *παροικία,* signifying that which we now call the diocese, in opposition to the mother-Church. That this is the reason of the name *παροικιά* appears, because Polycarp addresses his epistle to the Philippians in this style: *ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίπποις.* For if the Church of the Philippians dwelt near Philippi, then the country adjoining belonged to the Church of that city. This reason, therefore, was well understood by him that writ the epistle to the Antiochians in Ignatius' name,

granting it to be of an age much inferior to his, for he inscribeth it, ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Συρίαν, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ; signifying thereby that all the Christians of Syria belonged to the Church of Antiochia; for which reason, Ignatius himself, in his epistle to the Romans, calls himself bishop of Syria, not of Antiochia, because, being bishop of the head city Church, the Christians of Syria either belonged to his Church or the Churches that were under it; a thing so necessary to be believed, that there are many marks in his epistles to show that the Churches also of Cilicia belonged to his charge, as we saw they did by their foundation in the apostles' time, and as the reason of the civil government required; those parts where Paul and Barnabas first preached having continued longest in the dominion of the kings of Syria, and therefore continuing under the government that resided at Antiochia. And thus are the words of Clemens, in his epistle to the Corinthians, fulfilled, where he saith, that the apostles, having preached the gospel in cities and countries, constituted bishops and ministers of those that should believe; to wit, according to the cities and countries adjoining to them. These marks come from the ancientest records the Church hath after the writings of the apostles; of the rest there would be no end, if a man would allege them.

If any man object, that it cannot be made to appear how this rule was ever observed in the Church, the extent of cathedral churches being in some countries so strait, in others so large; the answer is, that it ceaseth not to be a rule, though the execution of

it was very different in several countries, either because it was not understood so well as it should have been, or because the condition of some countries was not appliable to it so as that of others. For the east, we have these words of Walafridus Strabo, de Rebus Ecclesiasticis: [c. 31.] "Fertur in Orientis partibus per singulas urbes et præfecturas singulas esse episcoporum gubernationes:" whereby we understand, that cathedral churches stood very much thicker in the eastern parts than in the west; for thereupon it became observable to Walafridus. In Africk, if we look but into the writings of St. Augustine, we shall find hundreds of bishops resorting to one council in Ireland alone; St. Patrick is said by Ninius,* at the first plantation of Christianity, to have founded three hundred three score and five bishoprics. On the other side, in England, we see still how many counties remain in one diocese of Lincoln: and yet if we look into Almain, and those mighty foundations of Charles the Great, we may find perhaps larger than it. The rule, notwithstanding all this, is the same, that cathedral churches be founded in cities, though cities are diversely reckoned in several countries; nay, though perhaps some countries where the gospel comes have scarce anything worth the name of cities, where the rule must be executed according to the discretion of men that have it in hand, and the condition of times. This we may generally observe, that churches were erected in greater number when they were erected without endowment, established by temporal law; so that in one of the African canons it is

* [Hist. Briton. c. 55.]

questionable whether a bishop have many presbyters under him; fewer still, where they were founded by princes professing Christianity, upon temporal endowments. And upon this consideration, it will be no prejudice to this rule, that in Egypt, till the time of Demetrius, there was no cathedral Church but that of Alexandria. If it be fit to believe the late antiquities of that Church, published out of Eutychius, because they seem to agree with that which St. Hierome reporteth of that Church; as to this day, if we believe the Jesuits, whose relation you may see in Godignus, "de Rebus Abassinorum," (i. 32) there is but one for all Prester John's dominion, or the country of the Abassines. For though men would not, or could not execute the rule so, as it took place in more civil countries, yet, that such a rule there was, is easy to believe, when we see Christianity suffer as it does, in those countries professing Christ, by the neglect of it.

Before I leave this point, I will touch one argument to the whole question, drawn from common-sense, presupposing historical truth. For they that place the chief power in congregations, or require at all several presbyteries for the government of several congregations, are bound at least to show us, that congregations were distinguished in the times of the apostles, if they will entitle their design to them. Which I utterly deny that they were. I do believe the presbyterians have convinced those of the congregations, that in St. Paul's time, the Churches to whom he writes, contained such numbers as could by no means

assemble at once: but several Churches they could not make, being not distinguished into several congregations, but meeting together from time to time, according to opportunity and order given.

About St. Cyprian's time, and not afore, I find mention of congregations settled in the country; for in his twenty-eighth epistle, you have mention of one Gaius, presbyter Diddensis, which was the name of some place near Carthage, the Church whereof was under the care of this Gaius; and in the life of Pope Dionysius about this time, it is said, that he divided the dioceses into Churches; and in Epiphanius against the Manichees, speaking of the beginning of them under Probus, about this time there is mention of one Trypho, presbyter of Diodoris, a village (as it seems by his relation there) under Archelaus, then bishop of Caschara in Mesopotamia; likewise, in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria, reported by Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vii. 24), there is mention of the "presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages." And those Churches of the country called Mareotes, hard by Alexandria, which Socrates (Eccles. Hist. i. 27) saith, were parishes of the Church of Alexandria in the time of Constantine, must needs be thought to have been established long before that time whereof he writes there. After this, in the canons of Ancyra and Neocæsarea, and those writings that follow, there is oftentimes difference made between city and country presbyters. In cities, this must needs have been begun long afore, as we find mention of it at Rome, in the life of Pope Caius,

where it is said, that he divided the titles and cœmiteries among the presbyters: and the distribution of the wards of Alexandria, and the Churches of them mentioned by Epiphanius, (Hær. lxviii. and lxix) seems to have been made long before the time whereof he speaks. But, when Justin Martyr says expressly, (Apol. ii.) that, in his time, those out of the country, and those in the city assembled in one, far was it from distinguishing settled congregations under the apostles. Which if it be true, the position which I have hitherto proved, must needs be admitted, that the Christians remaining in several cities, and the territories of them were by the apostles ordered to be divided into several distinct bodies and societies, which the Scripture calls Churches, and are now known by the name of cathedral Churches, and the dioceses of them, constituting one whole Church.

This being proved, I shall not much thank any man to quit me the position upon which the congregations are grounded, to wit, the chief power of the people in the Church: though it seems they are not yet agreed themselves, what the power of the people should be. Morellus, in the French Churches, disputed downright that the state of government in the Church ought to be democratic, the people to be sovereign: wherein, by Beza's epistles, it appears that he was supported by Ramus: for the man whom Beza calls ὄζον Ἄρεως, and describes by other circumlocutions, who put the French Churches to the trouble of divers synods, to suppress this position, as there it appears can be no other than Ramus. Perhaps

Ramus's credit in our Universities, was the first means to bring this conceit in religion among us: for, about the time that he was most cried up in them, Brown and Barrow published it. Unless it be more probable to fetch it from the troubles of Frankfort. For, those that would take upon them to exercise the power of the keys in that estate, because they were a congregation that assembled together for the service of God, (which power could not stand, unless recourse might be had to excommunication), did by express consequence, challenge the public power of the Church to all congregations; which I have showed to be otherwise. And the contest there related, between one of the people, and one of the pastors, shows that they grounded themselves upon the right of the people. So true it is, that I said afore, that the presbyterians have still held the stirrup to those of the congregations, to put themselves out of the saddle. As now the design of the congregations is refined, they will not have it said that they make the people chief in the Church: for, they give them power which they will have subject to that authority which they place in the pastors and elders; which serves not the turn. We have an instance against it in the state of Rome, after they had driven away the Tarquins. They placed authority in the senate, and power in the people: and I suppose the success of time showed, that which Bodine disputes against Polybius, (De Repub. ii. 2), to be most true, that the state was thereby made a democracy, So, the congregations challenging to themselves right, to make

themselves Churches, and by consequence, whom they please pastors, must needs, by consequence, reduce the authority they pretend, to what measure the people shall please, whom, by their proceedings, they enable to make and unmake members and pastors at their pleasure. But I dispute not the consequence of their design, before they declare what they are agreed upon in it. Besides, they conceive they have this right in the Church, because they are saints: as anabaptists conceive that by the same title they have right to the goods of this world, and, as Christians conceive, they have those rights which they pretend to in the visible Church, by lawful ordination and baptism; and that they are saints, they seem to presume upon this ground, that they have been admitted to such a congregation upon covenant, to live in such society, for which they separate from the Church. It shall be enough to level the grounds and reasons from Scripture, upon which they have parted from the Church, under pretence of recovering the freedom of saints, before they are agreed wherein this freedom consists, and how far it extends. And truly, that which I have hitherto proved, seems to be a peremptory prescription against their pretence. For, if the apostles ordered the bodies of several Churches, to consist of the whole numbers of Christians contained in several cities, and in the territories of them, which, no common sense can possible imagine that they could assemble altogether, at any time, for the service of God; it follows of necessity that the power of governing those Churches was not deposited by the apostles in

the body of the people, whereof those Churches did or should consist. For, where the power is in the people, there the whole body of the people must have means to assemble, to take order in such things as concern the state of it. Wherefore the assemblies of the Church being only for divine service, and at those assemblies it being impossible that all the people of those Churches should meet, common-sense must pronounce, that the power of taking order in the common affairs of Churches, is not deposited by the apostles in the body of the people.

Another exception there is to all or most of the particulars, which they allege out of the Scriptures, far more peremptory than this. For those things upon which they ground the right and interest of the people in the Church, were done under the apostles; that is, not only in their time, but also in concurrence with their right and power in the government of the Church: so that if we believe, or if we prove, the chief power to have been then in the apostles, it cannot, by the Scriptures which they produce, be proved to remain in the people; because their evidence cannot prove any greater power or right to be now in the people than belonged to them when the Scriptures, they allege, were said or done under the apostles. Now, I suppose, I shall not need to entreat any man to grant me that the sovereign power of the Church was then in the apostles, which their commission will easily evince. The name of an apostle seemeth to have been borrowed by our Lord from the ordinary use of that people; for in

their law it ordinarily signifieth a man's proxy, or commissary deputed to some purpose. And therefore the signification of it in the Scriptures is very large: so that when we read of "Epaphroditus, apostle of the Philippians," (Phil. ii. 25, 30), or of Luke and Titus, "apostles of the Churches," (2 Cor. viii. 19, 20, 23), we are not to conceive by this name anything like the office of the apostles of Christ; for these latter are plainly called apostles of the Churches, as deputed by them to carry their contributions to Jerusalem: and Epaphroditus of the Philippians, as employed by them to wait upon and furnish St. Paul with his necessary charges at Rome. The power of Christ's apostles, then, must not be valued by the name of apostle, nor by the person of our Lord Christ that sends them—for he might have sent other manner of men upon inferior errands, and all been apostles—but by the work which they are trusted with, expressed in their commission, "As my Father sent me," "Whosesoever sins ye remit," and "Go preach and teach all nations." For if God ordain his Church to be one visible society, to serve him in the profession of the Gospel, and trust only his apostles and the Church with the power of the keys —the root of all ecclesiastical power, as hath been said—either the Church must challenge it against the apostles, which is not but by them, or it must be understood to have been then in the Church, because it was in the apostles, in whom it was before the Church, which was founded by them; whereupon the office of the apostle is called ἐπισκοπή, a bishopric,

before the Church was, whereof they were bishops; to wit, in Judas (Acts i. 9): a meaning easy to be read in the number of them; for the Church being the spiritual Israel, as Israel according to the flesh, coming of twelve patriarchs, had always twelve princes of their tribes, and seventy presbyters, members of the great Consistory, to govern them in the greatest matters, concerning the state of the whole people, under one king or judge, or under God when they had neither king nor judge; so did our Saviour appoint twelve patriarchs, as it were, of his spiritual people, seventy governors of another rank, both under the name of apostles, in whom should rest the whole power of governing that people, whereof himself, in heaven, remains always king.

A perfect evidence hereof, is the deriving of other power from them, as their's is derived from Christ. We read in the Scriptures of evangelists, and we read of another sort of apostles, which, if we understand not to be of the number of the seventy, we must needs conceive to be so called, because they were apostles of the apostles, that is, persons sent by the twelve apostles, to assist them in the work committed to their trust, which, it is plain, could not be executed by them in person alone. And indeed, those whom the Scripture calls "false apostles," (2 Cor. xi. 13); and, "that said they were apostles and were not" (Apoc. ii. 2); what can we imagine they were, but such as pretended to be employed by other apostles (perhaps by St. Peter to Corinth, who had a hand in the founding of that

Church, as we learn by Dionysius of Corinth, in Eusebius: Eccles. Hist. ii. 25; agreeing with the beginning of St. Paul's first Epistle), but intended indeed, under their names and authorities, to pull down that, which was built by their fellow-apostles. And in this sense, perhaps, St. Paul calls Andronicus and Junius eminent among the apostles (Rom. xvi. 7); because, it may be, they were employed by himself or by St. Peter, about the gospel, at Rome. And hereby, we may take measure what evangelists were. For, seeing it appears by the Scripture, that they were the apostles' scholars, deputed by them, and limited to such employment as they found most proper for their assistance; it is manifest, that they could have no authority, but derived from the apostles. A thing perfectly agreeing with the custom that had always been among God's people. For, all prophets, whom God employed upon his messages, and may therefore properly be called his apostles, (as our Lord Christ is called the apostle of our profession, Heb. iii. 1), had their disciples to wait upon them, which is called "ministering to them" in the language of the Scripture. Thus "Joshua, the minister of Moses." (Exod. xxiv. 13.) "Elizeus poured water on the hands of Elias," as the chief of his scholars, that expected a double portion of his spirit (2 Reg. ii. 9; iii. 11.) Thus the Baptist saith, "he is not worthy to loose, or take away our Saviour's shoes" (Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 7), that is, to be his disciple. For, by Maimoni, in the title of Learning the Law, (chap. v.), we learn, that the disciples of the Jews'

doctors, were to do that service for their masters. Hereupon, saith Christ (Luke xxii. 27), "I am among you as he that ministreth": to wit, not as a master, but as a disciple. Thus the chief of our Lord's disciples, whom he had chosen, from the beginning, to be with him, receiving his commission, became his apostles, having waited on his person, and, by familiar conversation, learned his doctrine, better than others; whereupon I said, in the Primitive Government of Churches, p. 3, that, to make an apostle, it was requisite to have seen our Lord in the flesh, and, that he appeared to St. Paul after death, to advance him to that rank, by this privilege. (Mark iii. 14; Matt. x. 1, 4.) And shall we think, that the apostles did not, as their Lord, and all the prophets before him had done, choose themselves scholars, that, by waiting on them, might learn their doctrine, and become fit to be employed under them, and after them? If we do, we shall mis-ken the most remarkable circumstances of Scripture: for we may easily observe, that those who are called in the Scriptures evangelists, are such, as first waited upon the apostles, as St. Mark upon St. Peter; Timothy and St. Luke upon St. Paul (Acts. xvi. 1; xix. 22); as Mark upon Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 5); and Mark again (whether the same or another) upon St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 11); and therefore I easily grant, both Timothy and Titus to have been evangelists, though the Scripture says it but of one (2 Tim. iv. 5); because I see them both companions of St. Paul, that is, his scholars and ministers:

and therefore find it very reasonable that he should employ Titus into Dalmatia, to preach the gospel in those parts, where himself had left, hoping to go further, and carry it beyond, into Illyricum, whereof Dalmatia was a part, as you may see by comparing the Scriptures: 2 Tim. iv. 10; Rom. xv. 19; 2 Cor. x. 16; Tit. iii. 12. For, thus also, of the seven ministers to the apostles at Jerusalem, you see Stephen and Philip employed in preaching the gospel, and this latter called therefore expressly an evangelist. (Acts vi. 9; viii. 5, 12; xxi. 8.) And therefore it is not possible, for any man, out of the Scriptures, to distinguish between the office of evangelists and those whom I showed to have been apostles of the apostles; and thereby the conclusion remains firm, that all ecclesiastical power at that time remained, and, for future times, is to be derived from the apostles, when we see by the Scriptures that the evangelists derived their office and authority from their appointment. And, indeed, how can common-sense endure to apprehend it otherwise, especially admitting that which hath been discoursed of the power of the keys, in admitting into the Church? That being made Christians by the apostles, because by them convinced to believe that they were God's messengers, whom they stood bound to obey, should nevertheless, by being Christians, obtain the power of regulating and concluding the apostles themselves, in matters concerning the community of the Church (which, what it meant, or that such a society should be, they could not so much as imagine, but by them),

is a thing no common-sense can admit without prejudice. Those that purchase dominion by lawful conquest in the world, become thereby able to dispose of all their subjects have, because they give them their lives, that is themselves. The Church is a people, subdued to Christ by the apostles, not by force, but by the sword of the Spirit, and though to freedom, yet that freedom consists in the state of particular Christians towards God, not in the public power of the Church, otherwise than it is conveyed lawfully from them that had it before the Church. Indeed, visible Christianity is a condition requisite to make a man capable of ecclesiastical power, and the Church is then in best estate, when that legal presumption of invisible Christianity is most reasonable; but if saints, because saints, have power and right to govern the Church, then follows the position imposed on Wicliffe and Huss in the Council of Constance, and condemned by all Christians, that ecclesiastical power holds and fails with grace; which will not fail to draw after it the like consequence in secular matters, pernicious to all civil societies, that the interest of honest men is the interest of kingdoms and states, contradicting the principle laid down at the beginning, that Christianity calls no man to any advantage of this world, but to the cross. Therefore no Christian or saint, as saint or Christian, hath any right or power in the Church, but that which can be lawfully derived from the order of the apostles. Those of the Congregations used to allege St. Peter's apology to the Jewish Christians, for conversing with Cornelius

and his company (Acts xi. 9), as also that of St. Paul (Col. iv. 17), speaking to the body of the Church at Collossæ: "Say to Archippus, look to the ministry which thou hast received, to fulfil it;" as if St. Peter, or Archippus, must be afraid of excommunication if they render not a good account of their actions to the people. By which it may appear how truly I have said, that the power they give the people is in check to that power which was exercised by the apostles. But if we reason not amiss, it would be a great prejudice to Christianity, that St. Peter could not inform Christian people of the reason of his doings, which they understood not, but he must make them his sovereign. Or that St. Paul, conveying his commands to Archippus, by an epistle directed to the whole Church, should be thought to invest the people in that power by which he commands Archippus. They allege also, the people of the Church of Jerusalem, present at the council there, and joined in the letter by which the decree is signified and conveyed to the Churches of Syria and Cilicia. (Acts xv. 4, 12, 23.) But of this I have spoken already, and am very willing to leave all men to judge by the premises, whether it is probable, that for resolution in a doubt, which such persons as Paul and Barnabas could not determine, as to the body of the Church, it can be thought that they resorted to Jerusalem, as to the brethren, or as to the apostles; whether it can be imagined, that the people of the Church at Jerusalem could prescribe, in any way, either of power, or of authority, or illumination, unto the Church of Antioch, and the

public persons of it. Lastly, whether the arrow is not shot beyond the mark, when it is argued, that this decree is the act of the people, because it appears that they assent to it, seeing we know by the premises, that they were bound to consent to the acts of the apostles. So, in the power of the keys and excommunication, what can be so plain, as that St. Paul gives sentence upon the incestuous person at Corinth, and obliges the Church there to execute his decree, as he calls it in express terms (1 Cor. v. 3, 4)? I conceive I have read an answer to this in some of their writings, that this epistle is Scripture, and therefore the matter of it commanded by God. But let me instance in the result of the council at Jerusalem: the Church of Jerusalem was tied by virtue of the decree, for to them there was no epistle sent; therefore the Church of Antiochia, and the rest of the Churches to whom that epistle was sent, which we have (Acts xv. 23), were tied by virtue of the decree, not by virtue of the epistle, by which they knew themselves tied. And let me put the case here: had St. Paul been at Corinth, and decreed that which he decreeth by this epistle, had not the Church been tied, unless he had sent them an epistle, or otherwise made it appear to them, that he had a revelation from God on purpose, having made appearance to them that he was the apostle of Christ? Believe himself in that case, when he says, he will do as much absent as present. (1 Cor. v. 3.) And again, "When I come I shall bewail divers (2 Cor. xii. 20, 21), that is, excommunicate them, or put them to penance, as I have

said. Remember the miraculous effect of excommunication in the apostles' time, when, by visible punishments inflicted on the excommunicate by evil angels, it appeared that they were cast out of the shadow of God's tabernacle, and it will seem as probable, that this is the rod which St. Paul threatens the Corinthians with (1 Cor. iv. 21; 2 Cor. x. 1, 8), as, "that many were sick there," because they abused the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 30.) Therefore if this effect of the sentence came from the apostles, the sentence also came. Here appears a necessary argument from the legislative power of the apostles to the whole Church. For, as no Christian can deny that the constitutions of the Apostles oblige the Church, so it is manifest that they do not oblige it, because they are written in the Scripture, for they were all in force in the Church before the Scriptures were written in which they are related; neither doth it evidence that they were first delivered to the Church, with assurance that they were, by express revelation, commanded to be delivered to the Church, or because they were passed by votes of the people; but by virtue of the general commission of the apostles, being received in that quality by those that became Christians, and so made a Church. So, in matter of ordinations, it is well known who they are that have made the people believe that Paul and Barnabas ordained presbyters in the Churches of their founding, by voices of the people, signified by the word χειροτονήσαντες (Acts xiv. 23); which being admitted, it is but an easy consequence to infer that all congregations are absolute, because,

making their presbyters, they must needs first make themselves Churches. But he that reads the text without prejudice, easily sees, that the act of ordaining is here attributed to the apostles, not to the people. They (the apostles) *ordained them*, to wit, the Church or people, *presbyters*, therefore this Scripture speaks not of election by holding up of the people's hands, but of ordination, by laying on the hands of the apostles. And therefore in the choice of the seven deacons it is manifest, that the apostles, though they gave way to the people to nominate, yet reserved themselves the approving of the persons, otherwise the people might have sinned, and the apostles borne the blame for it. For when St. Paul saith, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, nor participate of other men's sins" (1 Tim. v. 22), it is manifest, that he who imposes hands ought to have power not to impose, because he sins imposing amiss. Last of all, let us consider how liberally the Church of Jerusalem parted with whole estates; the Church of Corinth maintained their feasts of love, whereof we read 1 Cor. xi. 17; the same Corinthians, with other Churches, offered to the support of the Churches in Judea (2 Cor. viii. 1); the Philippians sent to supply St. Paul (Phil. ii. 25, 30; iv. 15), and all the rest which we find recorded in the New Testament of the oblations of the faithful to the maintenance of God's service: whence it shall appear, in due time, that the endowment of the Church is estated upon it; and then let common-sense judge, whether this came from the understanding, and motion, and proper devotion of the people, or from their

Christianity, obliging them to follow that order, which the authority and doctrine of the apostles should show them to be requisite for their profession, and the support of the Church at that time.

By all this, as it will easily appear, that the chief interest and right in disposing of Church matters, could not belong to the people, under the apostles, so is it not my purpose to say, that, at any time, the people ought to have no manner of right or interest in the same. For, if the practice under the apostles be the best evidence, that we can ground law upon to the Church, then it is requisite to the good estate of the Church, and necessary for those that can dispose of the public order of it, to procure that it be such as may give the people reasonable satisfaction in those things wherein they are concerned: which, what it requires, and how far it extends, I will say somewhat in general, when we come to give bounds, to the several interests, in the public power of the Church. In the meantime, as no water can ascend higher than it descended afore, so can no people have any further right and power in Church matters, than that which the people had under the apostles, because that is all the evidence upon which their interests can be grounded and acknowledged. Less is not to be granted; more they must not require.

CHAPTER III.

THAT THE CHIEF POWER OF EVERY CHURCH RESTETH IN THE BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS, ATTENDED BY THE DEACONS.—THAT ONLY THE POWER OF THE KEYS IS CONVERTIBLE WITH THE OFFICE OF CONSECRATING THE EUCHARIST—AND THEREFORE, THAT THERE ARE NO LAY ELDERS.—THE RIGHT OF THE BISHOP, PRESBYTERS, AND PEOPLE IN CHURCH MATTERS.

THESE things premised, I shall here suppose, that the reasons heretofore advanced, are sufficient to prove, that by ordinance of the apostles, the government of every such Church, consisting of the body of Christians in a city and the territory thereof, is to rest in a bishop, and a company or college of presbyters, his counsel and assistants in the exercise of the chief power thereof, to whom are added the deacons to attend them in executing their commands: adding only for the present in confirmation of those reasons, as followeth.

First, that there is an ordinary power, of governing Churches of their own planting, in the apostles, easily to be distinguished from the power of other apostles, because, whereas the general commission extends the power of every apostle to the whole Church: those things which we find recorded, either in the Scriptures, or in other monuments of historical truth, which common-sense cannot refuse to credit, do show manifest arguments of the special exercise thereof, *de facto*; in special places, either by contract,

when a Christian may think that an agreement might be requisite among such holy persons as we see (Gal. ii. 9), or otherwise, by occupation and use. And this ordinary power of the apostles is as easy to be distinguished from the power of bishops, by the extent of it, this of bishops reaching only to the Church whereof they are made bishops.

Now, to make good the proof, that James, bishop of Jerusalem, was one of the apostles, I must here answer two questions, which seem to make this opinion hard to believe. The first, because Hegesippus in Eusebius, oftentimes mentioning Simeon the son of Cleopas, and that he succeeded this James in the government of the Church, never mentions in one syllable, any relation of his to this James whom he succeeded; which, if they had been so near as brothers, it seems he would have done. The second is this, because Κλεοπᾶς is manifestly a Greek name, being the diminutive of Κλεόπατρος, and therefore nothing to Alphæus, which hath another, both original and signification in the Hebrew. The first makes no proof, because we have not Hegesippus, and therefore cannot presume that he nowhere said this, because we find it not in those shreds which Eusebius hath related out of him: neither are we bound to presume that either he would write, or Eusebius relate out of him, that which we at this present conceive to be most necessary to be related, because of the dispute presently on foot, which to them, perhaps, was no dispute. In fine, from that which he says not, we cannot conclude the negative, but from that which

he says we may conclude the tantamount of the affirmative. For when Hegesippus, in Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. iv. 22) says, that Simeon was the second of our Lord's cousins, that was made bishop of Jerusalem, to them that knew by the Gospel, that the cousins of our Lord (which it calls brothers) were James and Joses, Judas and Simon (Matt. xiii. 55), he says in effect, that James and Simon were brothers; especially Eusebius, making the same Simeon the son of Cleopas and Mary, (Eccles. Hist. iii. 32), which he seems to have from Hegesippus. For seeing Mary Cleopas (John xix. 25) is, in all probability, "Mary the mother of James the less, and Joses" (Mark xv. 40, Matt. xxvii. 56); (because we read but of two Marys in the Gospel that followed our Lord, beside the blessed Virgin, Matt. xxvii. 61); and seeing St. Jude calls himself the brother of James (Jude i.), and seeing James and Simeon, bishops of Jerusalem, are both cousins to our Lord (that is brothers in the language of the Scripture), according to Hegesippus, it is to be thought that he intended there to signify, that Simeon, the son of Cleopas, and James, bishop of Jerusalem, were brothers: the age of Simeon, suffering an hundred and twenty years old (Euseb. Eccles. Hist. iii. 32), being so great that he might well succeed his brother in the charge. Now James, the son of Alphæus, might well be also son of Cleopas, and the same man's name Alphæus and Cleopas; because of the custom which we find to have been among the Jews, of calling themselves by one name among their own countrymen, and by another (often-

times near the other in sound) among the Greeks and Romans; for if Jason, in the Maccabees, were called Jesus among the Jews, as it appears by Josephus (Antiq. xii. 6); if Saul and Paul were one apostle; if the first bishop of Alexandria, who is called Ananias in the antiquities of that Church out of Eutychius, be called Anianus in Eusebius; if Silas be nothing else but Sylvanus; Luke, Lucius; as learned men cannot choose but believe, why shall we not believe that the same man was called חלפי, in the Hebrew then used, as his name is now written in the Syriac Testament, and Κλεοπᾶς in the Greek, being the diminutive of Κλεόπατρος, an ordinary proper name at that time. And thus it cannot be contradicted, that the Church of Jerusalem had one of the apostles for the first bishop of it.

Now, whereas it is said that Timothy and Titus had that power which the Scripture witnesseth as evangelists, it is to be demanded by what Scripture it can appear that evangelists, as evangelists, had any power in any Church? That they were near in rank and esteem to the apostles I grant, because of the Scriptures (1 Cor. xii. 28, Eph. iv. 12); that Titus was an evangelist as well as Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 5) I do believe; because St. Paul says there, that he was gone into Dalmatia; which being part of Illyricum, whither St. Paul had purpose to advance the Gospel, as you saw afore, there is great appearance that, being in durance, he employed Titus to preach the Gospel and plant Churches there, as well as to govern the Churches already settled in Crete; and

that by the same reason as himself governed all the Churches of his charge. But having shewed such probabilities, to think that evangelists were no more than a secondary rank of apostles, that is, men employed by the apostles upon any work, it cannot be said that by the quality of evangelists they had power to govern any Church; unless it can be shewed that the work on which they were employed was the governing of settled Churches; which cannot be shewed of any but Timothy and Titus, by the epistles to them: which shew that they two were appointed in that quality at Ephesus and in Crete. For Epaphrus, that is Epaphroditus (for the names are both one), that was employed by the Philippians to St. Paul (Phil. ii. 25, 30), was also employed (no doubt by St. Paul, or by some other of the apostles, unless we will say that he depended not on them, contrary to that which hath been proved) to preach the Gospel to the Colossians (i. 7); and therefore an evangelist to them, but no appearance of any commission to govern that Church: his charge to the Colossians not hindering his employment to St. Paul from the Philippians. On the contrary, the commissions given Timothy and Titus, by the epistles directed to them, are so far from being temporary, that he were no sober man that would give them to him whose charge was intended to cease tomorrow. Hence we have a competent reason why the name of bishops should be common to bishops and presbyters in the New Testament, though the thing which is the power never was. Because the chief bishops of that

time bore another quality, of apostles, evangelists or apostles of the apostles; by which, while they were called, it is reasonable to think that other bishops and presbyters—between whom there was not that distance as between the greatest of them, and apostles or evangelists—should be called by the common name of bishops. An instance you have in the Synagogue: for the bodies of Jews residing in the several cities of their dispersions being governed by colleges or consistories of presbyters, both the heads and the members of those colleges are called by a common name in the plural number, ἄρχοντες τῆς συναγωγῆς (Acts xviii. 8, 17), or ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, (xiii. 15), which, in the Gospels, seem to be the same with ἄρχοντες absolutely, (Luc. xiv. 1); which notwithstanding we find expressly in Epiphanius, that the chief of them was called also Archsynagogues, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, his inferiors presbyters, the deacons ἀζανῖται in Epiphanius's Greek, as in the Jews writings חזנים. So that we are to think, that in those times also whereof the Scriptures of the New Testament speak, there was one set over the rest, though all go by one name; because we know that in the great Consistory, whether at Jerusalem or in their dispersions, so it was always. By this correspondence having shewed afore that the power of the Consistories is that which the Church succeeds the Synagogue in, it is manifest that all the seeming difficulty of this little objection is removed.

To the argument drawn from the angels of the seven Churches of Asia, I add only a reply to the answer that is now brought, that angels stand there

for presbyteries or colleges of presbyters. For now it appears too gross to take angels for Churches in that place, because the Scripture saith expressly (Apoc. i. 20), that the Churches are there signified by candlesticks; and it appears now an inconvenience to take the candlestick for the candle. But no less inconvenience will be seen in this answer, if we consider that it must be proved to signify so either by some reason of grammar or of rhetoric. That an angel is put for a presbyter, or bishop, is a metaphor very reasonable, because of the correspondence between them; but an angel cannot stand for presbyters, by reason of grammar, unless either the word be a collective, signifying a multitude in the singular number, or else the construction shew that the singular stands for the plural; nor by reason of rhetoric, unless somebody can shew us how an angel is like a college; none of which reasons is to be seen either in the text or in the nature of the subject.

To the premises I add now this argument, drawn from that observation which I have advanced, in the book of the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 71, out of the Apostolical Constitutions, Ignatius, Dionysius Areopagita, and the Jews' constitutions, that, in the primitive Church, the presbyters were wont to sit by themselves, in a half circle, at the east end of the church, with their faces turned to the faces of the people, the deacons standing behind them, as waiting on them, but the bishop on a throne by himself, in the midst of the presbyters' seats. For if this form were in use under the apostles, then was the

difference of bishops and presbyters brought in by ordinance of the apostles; and that it was in use under the apostles may appear by the representation of the Church triumphant (Apoc. iv. & v.); for he that knows the premises and finds there twenty-four elders, (equal in number to the twelve heads of the tribes of Israel), and the twelve apostles surrounded with ministering spirits standing about them, (as the deacons in the church stood about the presbyters), the congregation standing with their faces turned to the presbyters, (as the people in the church at Divine service), how can he doubt that the throne of God, in the midst of the thrones of the twenty-four presbyters, is correspondent to the bishop's chair in the Church militant, under the apostles, knowing that so soon after the apostles just so it was seated? They that expound this vision to resemble the camp of Israel in the desert (Num. ii.), where about the ark were four standards, answerable to the four creatures about the throne, then the tribe of Levi environing the sanctuary and the camp of Israel, [that] do make the four creatures as far distant from the throne as the standards of the four leading tribes were from the tabernacle, and the presbyters' seats to compass the throne, behind, before, and on both sides: whereas, in the visions of Isaiah (vi. 1) and Ezekiel (i. 1), which all agree that this is borrowed from, the four creatures stand close to the throne, as attending peculiarly upon God's immediate commands. Besides, the four creatures are said to stand *κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου* (iv. 6), that

is, two at the two fore-corners and two at the two hind-corners of the throne: for otherwise it cannot be understood how they can be said to stand both round about the throne and in the middle of the throne, which the text says expressly, (that is, in the distance, between the throne and the presbyters' seats), which words can have no sense if we conceive the four creatures to stand where the four standards of the camp stood. Besides, the lamb is said to stand *ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου* (vii. 17), which is more expressly said (v. 6) to be in the midst of the throne, creatures, and elders: which words expressly describe that compass of half a circle, which the throne, environed with the four creatures and the twenty-four presbyters' seats, makes, in which compass the lamb is properly described to stand before the throne. Again, the multitude that stands before the throne and the lamb (vii. 9) are manifestly the same that are called the souls under the altar (vi. 9), though commonly they are conceived to lie under the altar, and from thence to cry for vengeance. For the altar there mentioned is not the altar of burnt sacrifices, but the altar of incense before the veil: which incense, in this case, is the prayers of the saints, which the elders offer (v. 8), and the angel puts incense to (viii. 3); whereupon follows the vengeance which the souls under the altar desired, who, having white robes granted them, instead of that present justice which their prayers solicited, are afterwards described standing with their faces toward the throne, the lamb, and the elders; as the

people in the church, at Divine service, toward the bishop and presbyters: which particulars, too long here to be deduced, are easy to be observed by comparing Apoc. v. 8; vi. 9, 10, 11; vii. 12, 14; viii. 3, 4, 5. Add hereunto the saying of Ignatius, that the bishop in his church bears the figure of the Father of all, to wit, in the whole Church triumphant; and unto that the ordinary expression of the Jews, when they use the term of *God and his house of judgment*, יהוה ובית דינו, that is, his court or consistory, to represent the majesty of God sitting in council, or in judgment upon the world, with the angels about him, in the Old Testament, (but the saints in the New, attended by the angels, Mat. xix. 28; Luc. xxii. 30; 1 Cor. vi. 2; Apoc. xx. 4); which expression of theirs is manifestly borrowed from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, everywhere representing the majesty of God in this posture, (Ps. lxxxix. 7; Dan, vii. 9; Psal. cxlix. 1; Deut. xxxiii. 2), and you have not only a commentary upon this whole passage, but also a confirmation of all that hath been or shall be said, that the bishops and presbyters are the same in the Church as the Sanedrim and the head of them in the Synagogue. All this is yet more fortified by the testimony of Tertullian (De Præscript. cap. xxxvi.), that the very chairs in which the apostles sat, in their churches, were extant in his time: "as," saith he, "were also the very originals of their epistles, in the Churches to whom they were sent;" and as the chair of St. James, at Jerusalem, was extant in Eusebius's time, (Eccles. Hist. vii. 19), add further,

"The uppermost seats in the synagogues, which the Scribes and Pharisees desired" (Luke xi. 43); add the apostle (1 Cor. xiv. 25, 30), distinguishing between the seats of private persons and prophets (which the supposed St. Ambrose expounds, by the custom of sitting in the synagogue, as I have shewed in the same place); add, "The chair of Moses, on which the Scribes and Pharisees sat," in succession to him, who taught the people in that posture, with the priests sitting about him, as Philo expoundeth the text (Numbers xv. 33; Matt. xxiii. 2); and I suppose we have not only evidenced to common-sense the superiority of the bishops above the presbyters, by his place in the Church, but also the distinction of the clergy from the people by the same.

Which point that I may deduce with that care, which the consequence of it requires, it will be worth the inquiry, first, by what title of right, the celebration and consecration of the eucharist belongs only to presbyters: which, as it seems to be agreed upon, on all sides, so let the reason also once be agreed upon, why it belongs only to them, and thereby it will appear, that it is convertible with the power of the keys; that is, that the power of the keys also belongs only to presbyters, whereas the offices of preaching and baptising are communicable to their inferiors, and, that it belongs also to all presbyters, and so by consequence, that there is no such thing as lay elders. The Presbyterians, styling their pastors ministers of the word and sacraments, in opposition to their lay

elders, seem to ground this right upon the commission of our Lord to his apostles, "Go preach and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them," as if this were the office wherein presbyters succeed the apostles, though of the eucharist there is here never a word. But, if they consider what it is to preach the gospel to unbelievers, or rather what it was before the gospel was received anywhere, it will easily appear, that, unless they be mad men that go about it, it is necessary that they be endowed with abilities to make it appear, even to the enemies of the gospel, that they are sent by God to preach it. Therefore no man succeeds the apostles in the office of preaching the gospel to the nations. And therefore, if they will take notice, they shall easily observe, that the title of "minister of the Gospel," "minister of the Word of the New Testament," "minister of the Church," and others equivalent, are never given to any but the apostles in the Scriptures, unless it be to their scholars and substitutes, the evangelists; because they were to the apostles, as the apostles to Christ, and Christ to God; that is, they were ministers of the apostles, assumed by them to the work which Christ had trusted them in person with, of preaching the gospel and planting Christianity: and therefore, when need was, were able to make their commission appear by the works they did, though in an inferior degree, because they proceeded upon that stock of reputation which the apostles had won the gospel by their preaching and miracles. Such titles you shall find attributed to the apostles, and their fol-

lowers and substitutes, (1 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. vi. 4, xi. 23; Col. i. 23, 25; Eph. iii. 7, vi. 21; 1 Thess. iii. 2; Col. iv. 7, i. 7; Acts i. 17, vi. 4, xx. 24, xxi. 19); but nowhere to presbyters. For the name of presbyters, as also of bishops, is relative to the people of those Churches whereof they are bishops and presbyters, signifying them to be the best qualified of all the body of those Churches, chosen and constitute to conduct the rest in Christianity. And therefore the apostles also are presbyters, as St. Peter and St. John style themselves, (1 Pet. v. i.; 2 John i.; 3 John i.) because the greater includes the less, and because they had power in all Churches, as presbyters in one: but presbyters are never called apostles, because the greater is not included in the less, and because presbyters never had commission "to preach the Word or the Gospel," in the sense whereof I speak here, that is to publish the gospel to unbelievers. And, whereas there is the same difference between *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* and *κηρύσσειν* on the one part, and *διδάσκειν* on the other, as there is between "publishing the gospel to unbelievers, and instructing Christian assemblies in it:" we never find the former attributed to any presbyter in the Scriptures, but we find both attributed to the apostles, because their commission was, to "publish the gospel to all nations, and to make them disciples, by baptizing them:" and being such, to "teach them," further, "to observe all that our Lord commandeth," (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Mar. xvi. 15). Thus the apostles (Acts v. 42) "ceased not to teach and preach" Jesus Christ, in houses and in the

temples: *to teach* the Church in those houses where the Christians assembled to serve God as Christians, and *to preach* to the Jews in the temple, whither they resorted for that service (Acts ii. 42, 46); so, (Acts xv. 35) Paul and Barnabas continued at Antiochia, *teaching*, that is, the Church, and preaching the *Gospel*, to wit, to unbelievers. And with the same difference, it is said of our Lord in the Gospels, (Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xi. 1), that he *taught*, to wit, as a prophet (who had always the privilege of teaching in the synagogues, as his disciples also by the same title), and *preached the gospel*, as sent by God for that extraordinary purpose. But, though the apostles being sent to preach the gospel, were, by consequence, to teach the Church, yet it is never said, that Presbyters, being appointed to teach the Church, were also called to preach the gospel. For their relation being, to Churches, as much persuaded of the truth of Christianity, as themselves, they needed no such qualities, as might make evidence, that they were sent immediately from God, to convince the world of the truth of it. But only, such understanding in it, above the people of their respective Churches, as might enable them to conduct the people thereof in it. And therefore what hindreth their inferiors also to be employed in teaching the Church, which now we call preaching? For if our Lord, and his apostles, employed their respective ministers, in teaching those whom they could not attend upon themselves; and in all Churches, after the example of the first at Jerusalem, deacons or

ministers were ordained, to wait upon the bishops and presbyters of the same, in the execution of their office, is it not the same thing, for bishops and presbyters, to employ their deacons, in preaching to those of their own Church, as it is for the apostles at Jerusalem, to employ St. Stephen, and St. Philip, St. Paul, Timothy, or Erastus, or Tychicus, or Epaphroditus, in preaching to unbelievers? for there remains as much difference in their charges, as in their chiefs from whom they are employed. Besides, who is able to prove by the Scriptures, that those, who are called doctors (1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11), were all of them men, ordained by imposition of hands, as presbyters? between whom and evangelists, there seems to be the same difference, as between εὐαγγελίζεσθαι and κηρύσσειν, on the one part, and διδάσκειν on the other; this relating to assemblies of Christians, and importing the instructing of them, in the right understanding of that Christianity, which they already believe and profess; that, to those who are not Christians, as undertaking to reduce them to Christianity, which supposeth commission and abilities answerable. Further, the supposed St. Ambrose, upon (Eph. iv. 11) comparing evangelists with deacons, says, that deacons also taught without a chair: the custom of the Church then, admitting them to preach upon occasions, but not sitting, as the bishop and presbyters did: because they did not sit, but stand, in the church (as the angels in the Revelation, about the presbyters' chairs), as attending upon their commands. And what is this, but the same

which you find in use in the synagogue (Acts xiii. 16), where *Paul stands up* to preach, whereas our Lord *sits down*, like a doctor, when he goes to preach in the synagogue (Luke iv. 20)? by which it appears, that it was of custom, drawn from the synagogue, for deacons to preach in the church. And indeed, in the last place, the practice of the Synagogue, together with the reason of it, and the primitive practice of the Church, agreeable to the same, seems to make as full proof as a reasonable man can desire in a matter of this nature. For, in the Synagogue, it is so manifest that jurisdiction is above doctrine, and the power of governing above the office of teaching, that the prophets themselves, who were doctors of the law, immediately sent by God, were subject to the power and jurisdiction of the consistory, settled by the law (Deut. xvii. 8-12); so that, though by the law, of Deut. (xviii. 18), the whole Synagogue are subject to God's curse, if they obey not the prophet by whom God speaks, yet because it was possible, that false prophets might pretend to be sent from God, therefore in the next words of the law, a mark is given to discern who was sent by God, and who was not; and he that pretended to be sent by God and was not, being tried by this mark, became liable to capital punishment, by the law of (Deut. xvii. 8-12,) for teaching contrary to that which the consistory taught. So that, by this law, the consistory hath power of life and death, even over prophets, whom they judged to teach things destructive to the law. And by this

power, not usurped, but abused, our Lord also suffered, under Pilate, according to that which he had said in respect of this power, "It is impossible that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 33); that is, not condemned by the consistory. The successors of the prophets, after the spirit of prophecy ceased, that is, their scribes and wise men, and doctors, received the privilege of teaching the law from their masters. For, whosoever had learned in the school of a doctor, till forty years of age, was thenceforth counted a doctor, as the Talmud doctors determine, and thereby privileged to decide matters of conscience in the law, provided that he did it not while his master lived, and where he was: ("R. Solomon upon the title Sanedrim," x. 2; Maimoni in the title of "Learning the Law," cap. v.) But if I mistake not, in our Lord's time, they were counted so at thirty years of age. For Irenæus, (ii. 39), says that our Lord began to preach, at the same age, at which men were counted doctors, manifestly referring to this rule of the Synagogue. And this is the reason which the Church afterwards followed, in all those canons by which it is forbidden that any man be made presbyter, being less than thirty years of age; because at those years our Lord and St. John Baptist began to preach, though by an extraordinary commission, yet according to the custom of the Synagogue in their time, saith Irenæus. But, by imposition of hands, they were further qualified to sit and judge in their consistories. Whereby we see how jurisdiction includes doctrine, but is not

included in it; so that, the metaphorical jurisdiction of the Church by the power of the keys, belonging, as all sides agree, to presbyters, it is agreeable to the perpetual custom of God's people that the office of teaching be communicable to their inferiors. But with such dependence upon the bishop and presbyters as may be correspondent to the rule of the Synagogue; in which he that taught anything, as of God's law, contrary to the consistory, and persisted in it, was liable to capital punishment, by the law, so often quoted, of Deut. xvii. 8. (Sanedrim x. 2; Maimoni in the title of "Rebels," cap. iii.) And, therefore he that teaches contrary to the Church, it behoveth that he be liable to excommunication from it. And upon these terms, I suppose, those of the congregations will give me no great thanks for saying, that it is not against God's law that those who are not in holy orders do preach. For, that which I have alleged for this, in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service (page 420), out of that notable epistle in Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vi. 19), in behalf of Origen, who, before he was presbyter, was employed in preaching by the bishop of Cæsarea, consists, in divers instances, of other persons of Origen's rank, which preached indeed, but all by commission from their respective bishops, who were themselves, by their places, the doctors in chief of their respective Churches. And, if this be against divine right (as we agree it is, for any under the rank of a presbyter to celebrate the Eucharist), how shall any Church allow men to preach, for trial of their abilities, be-

fore they attain that rank in which they are ordinarily to do it?

That which hath been said of preaching, is to be said much more, in my opinion, of baptism. If the charge of baptizing, given the apostles, had been meant of the office of ministering, not of the power of granting it, what reason could there be that St. Peter, having converted Cornelius and his company, should not baptize them in person, but command them to be baptized (Acts x. 48)? and if the apostles employ their deacon, St. Philip, to preach and to baptize, is it not by consequence that the governors of particular Churches employ their deacons about the same? In the Synagogue it cannot be said that the office of circumcising ever required any higher quality than that of a person circumcised: and therefore, in the Church, if there can be any question, whether a person is to be admitted to baptism or not, it is the chief power of the Church that must determine it. Or, if the occasion require solemnity, which may argue him that officiates it to be the chief in the Church, no deacon or presbyter must presume to do it before the bishop. But, because baptism is the gate, as well of the invisible Church as of the visible, and because the occasions are many and divers which endanger the preventing of so necessary an office by death, in this regard the practice of the primitive Church, alleged by Tertullian (De Bapt. cap. xviii.), must not be condemned, whereby baptism, given by him that is only baptized, is not only valid, but well done. Though my intent

hereby is not to say that it may not be restrained to presbyters and deacons, when the Church is so provided of them, that there is no appearance that baptism can be prevented for want of one.

But though I do, for these causes, refuse the reasons that Presbyterians can give, why only presbyters may celebrate the eucharist, I am not therefore much more in love with that which the school-doctors give, when they conceive that the apostles were made priests by our Lord, at his last supper, when he said, "Do this." For we do not find this exposition of these words authorized by the first ages of the Church, or any writers of that time. And, where the school-doctors speak not out of the mouth of the primitive Church, I make no difficulty to take them for none of my authors. And truly, in this case, the text of the Scriptures seems to be plain enough; for, the command of our Lord, "Do this in remembrance of me," must needs speak to the same persons, as the rest that goes afore, "Take, eat, drink, divide this among you;" which, belonging to the whole Church, it is manifest, the precept "Do this," belonging also to the whole Church, cannot make any difference of qualities in it. In this difficulty, then, it will be hard to find any anchor so sure as that of Tertullian (De Cor. cap. iii.), where, making a catalogue of orders and rules observed in the Church, which are not found delivered, in terms of precept, in the Scriptures, he prosecuteth it thus: "Eucharistiæ sacramentum, in tempore victus, et omnibus, à Domino mandatum, etiam antelucanis cætibus, nec nisi de

manu præsidentium sumimus." "The sacrament of the Eucharist was commended to the Church at meat," saith Tertullian. Is not this the express word of our Lord? for, when he saith, "Do this," is it not manifest that he commandeth to celebrate the eucharist at the end of supper as himself presently had done? sure enough the primitive Church understood it so, for "the ministry of tables" in the Acts of the Apostles, for which the apostles provide themselves deacons, and the feasts of love, which St. Paul regulates at Corinth, are enough to show us that the eucharist came at the end of them. And so Tertullian shows that it was in his time, when he says, that they received the eucharist "at their assemblies before day also;" that is to say, as well as at their feasts of love, at which our Lord ordained it. But, though there be no precept extant in the Scripture, that the eucharist be used at those assemblies of the Church, which are held merely for the service of God, besides those feasts of love, yet if my reasons propounded in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, (p. 291), have not failed, which hitherto, so far as I know, are not contradicted, it doth appear by the Scripture, that it was so under the apostles. And therefore, that only presbyters are to celebrate the eucharist, the Church will be confidently assured; because it appears by these words of Tertullian, that this was the primitive practice of the Church. Especially, if by any circumstance of Scripture, it may appear to have been derived from the apostles. Which, perhaps, comparing the premises with the

nature of the eucharist; will not fail us. To show that those who did eat of the sacrifices of the Gentiles, were accessory to their idolatries, the apostle (1 Cor. x. 18) instanceth in the Jews, who, by eating of their sacrifices, "did communicate with the altar," that is, with God, to whom that which was consumed upon the altar belonged. And because Christianity supposeth that the Gentiles' sacrifices were offered to devils, therefore, (the Gentiles communicating with devils, by eating the remains of their sacrifices, as the Jews with God), that it was not lawful to eat of their sacrifices, for them that communicated with God in the eucharist, as the Jews did with the same true God, and the Gentiles with the devils by their sacrifices. Thus the apostles' argument supposeth, that in the eucharist, Christians do participate of the sacrifice of the cross, as Jews and Gentiles do of their sacrifices, and so, that the purpose thereof is, that by it we may participate of the sacrifice offered to God upon the cross. Which being carried by our Lord within the veil, into the most holy place of the heavens, to be presented to God, as it is declared at large, (Heb. ix. 12) is notwithstanding no less participated by Christians, than the Jews do participate of their peace offerings. Which the apostle teaches again, when he tells the Hebrews (xiii. 10), that "we have an altar," that is, a sacrifice, "of which they that serve the tabernacle have no right to eat;" that is, no Jews. For, seeing the priests only eat the remains of burnt sacrifices, whereas the remains of peace offerings are eaten also by the sacrificers, that which

the priests touch not, it is manifest that no Jew can have right to touch. And, that the sacrifice of the cross is such, he proceedeth to prove, because as he had declared in the premises, it is of that kind that was carried within the veil; and again, because in correspondence to the burning of the rest of those sacrifices without the camp, which the law enjoined, (Levit. iv. 12, 20; vi. 30; xvi. 21), our Lord suffered without Jerusalem. Now, because it concerned the discourse propounded by the apostle, to show how Christians participate of that sacrifice, whereof he hath proved that Jews do not, he addeth, "Let us therefore go forth to him out of the camp, bearing his reproach, for we have here no abiding city, but seek one to come; let us therefore by him offer the sacrifice of praise continually to God, even the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name." Which, if we will have to be pertinent to the premises, must all be meant of the Eucharist, in which the sacrifice of the cross is communicated to Christians. Not as if thereby the apostle did establish that strange prodigious conceit of repeating the sacrifice of the cross, and sacrificing Christ anew in every mass. Inasmuch as the apostle clearly declareth, that the same one individual sacrifice, which Christ carried into the holy of holies, through the veil, to present to God, is that which all Christians participate of, in the eucharist always. And therefore the eucharist is a sacrifice, no otherwise than as all eucharists that have been or shall be to the world's end can be understood to be the same one individual sacrifice of Christ upon

the cross: which how it is to be understood, this is not the place to dispute. Here is further to be remembered, that which I have proved in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, (pp. 343, 373), that it is ordained by the apostles, which hath been practised by the Church after them in all ages, that at the celebration of the eucharist, supplications and prayers be made for all estates and ranks in the Church, for all things concerning the common necessities of it. The reason and intent whereof, is still more manifest by the premises. For, if the prayers of the Church be accepted of God, in consideration of the sacrifice of the cross, appearing always before the throne of God, within the veil, to intercede for us; is it not all reason, that the Church when it celebrateth the remembrance thereof upon earth, should offer and present it to God, as the only powerful means to commend the prayers of the Church unto God, and to obtain our necessities at his hands? If these things then be so, let us call to mind the prophetical vision, represented to St. John in the Apocalypse, of the throne of God, and of the Church triumphant, divided into twenty-four presbyters, sitting about the throne of God, and the people of the Church, standing and beholding the throne and the elders, in the very same manner, as they did at the assemblies of the Church militant, at divine service. Whereby, it is manifest, that God granteth the decrees, which are foretold in that prophesy, at the prayers of the Church triumphant, presented to his throne, in the same manner as the prayers of the Church militant here upon earth.

And upon these premises, I suppose, it will be no hard thing to make the consequence from that which is said, Apoc. iv. 10: "The twenty-four elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one harps, and golden vials full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints." The consequence being no more but this, that, seeing all things else in this vision are correspondent to the order of the militant Church, therefore it is plain, that the presbyters in the Church triumphant are said to hold in their hands the prayers of the saints, because in the Church militant, the presbyters were to present the prayers of the Church to God, and, by consequence, to celebrate the Eucharist, which the prayers of the Church were always presented to God with. Which is further confirmed, in that the Church, or the place, in heaven, where this assembly of the Church triumphant is represented to St. John, is called divers times in the Apocalypse, θυσιαστήριον, not in the notion of an altar (which, notwithstanding, it signifies more than once in this very prophecy, when the altar of incense before the throne is called θυσιαστήριον; Apoc. vi. 9; viii. 3, 5), but of a sanctuary, or place of sacrificing. So (Apoc. xi. 2), "Rise, measure the temple of God and the sanctuary," which in the Greek is, τὸ θυσιαστήριον, because it follows "and those that worship in it;" for in an altar no man worships. Again (Apoc. xiv. 18), "Another angel came forth out of the sanctuary;" for out of the altar he could not come, and yet it is in the Greek, ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Again (Apoc. xvi, 7), "And I heard one speak out of the sanctuary," ἐκ τοῦ θυσιασ-

τηρίον. This signification is expounded in H. Stevens' Glosses, θυσιαστήριον, *altarium*, *sacrarium*; and in those of Philoxenus, *sacrarium*, ἡρῶον, θυσιαστήριον; and so it is translated in the Latin of Polycarpus's epistle to the Philippians, where he calls the widows, θυσιαστήριον θεοῦ; as also in that noted passage of Ignatius to the Ephesians: ὁ ἐκτὸς ὢν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου οὗτος ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ; where it is manifest, that the Church is called a sanctuary, or place of sacrificing, seeing no man can be said to be without the altar, because not within it. Neither is it any marvel, that in the representation of the triumphant Church, in this prophetical vision, by correspondence with the assembly of the Church upon earth, regard is had chiefly to the celebration of the Eucharist. Because as it is that part of the service of God, which is altogether peculiar to the Church, as the sacrifice of the cross is peculiar to Christianity, whereas other offices of divine service, prayer, the praises of God, and teaching of the people, are common, not only to Judaism, but, in some sort, to other religions never ordained by God. So is it the chief and principal part of it: though in this age, where so much hath been said of reforming the Church, we hear not a word of restoring the frequent celebration and communion of it. It is to be wished, indeed, that continual preaching be maintained in all churches, as it is to be wished that all God's people were prophets; and it is to be commended that the abuse of private masses is taken away. But if order be not taken that those which are set up to preach, may preach no

more than they have learned out of the Scriptures, it will be easy to drive a worse trade of preaching, than ever priests did of private masses: the one tending only to feed themselves, the other to turn the good order of the world, which is the harbour of the Church, into public confusion, to feed themselves; the profaning of God's ordinance being common to both. And if the taking away of private masses must be by turning the eucharist out of doors, saving twice or thrice a year, for fashion's sake, it is but Lycurgus's reformation, to stock up the vines, for fear men be drunk with the wine. The Church of England is clear in this business. The order whereof, as it earnestly sighs and groans toward the restoring of public penance, the only mean established by the apostles to maintain the Church in estate to communicate continually, so it recommendeth the continual celebration of the Eucharist at all the more solemn assemblies of Lord's days and festivals. As for the sermon, it is to be when it can be had; and were it now abated, when such sermons cannot be had as were fitting, it is easy to undertake that there would be room enough left for the celebration of the Eucharist. In the meantime, the reformers of this age, had they considered so well as it behoved them what they undertook, should easily have found, that the continual celebration of the Eucharist at all the more solemn assemblies of the Church, and the discipline of penance to maintain the people in a disposition fit to communicate in it, is such a point of reformation in the Church, that without restoring it,

all the rest is but mere noise and pretence, if not mischief.

Now, the reason why the celebration of the Eucharist is reserved to presbyters alone, in consequence to the premises, is very reasonable, and will be effectual to show, that it is common to all presbyters, and therefore that there is no such thing as lay elders. For, seeing all agree, that presbyters have their share in the power of the keys, though the chief interest in it be the bishops, according to the doctrine of the Church, and seeing the work of this power, is to admit to the prayers of the Church, as St. John showeth, when he describeth excommunication, by not praying for the sins of the excommunicate; and seeing it appeareth by St. James, that the prayers of the Church, for the sins of them whom the Church prayeth for, are the prayers of the presbyters, what can we conceive more reasonable, and consequent to the premises, than that the power of the keys is convertible with the office of celebrating the Eucharist, belonging to the bishop and presbyters by virtue of it? for, what can be more agreeable, than, that the prayers of the Church, which the Eucharist is celebrated with, be offered by those that are to discern, who is to be admitted, who excluded, from the same? This is the meaning of Josephus, the Jew, in Epiphanius against the Ebionites [§ vi.], where, being baptized by the bishop of Tiberius, at his parting he gives him money, saying, "Offer for me, for it is written, 'Whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are retained.'" Ex-

pressing thereby, the sense of primitive Christians, who, when they were admitted to the prayers of the Church, which the Eucharist is offered to God with, made account thereby, that the power of the keys was passed, and continually did pass upon them, to the remission of sins. Whereupon we see, that it is an ordinary censure of the ancient canons, that he which did so or so, "his oblations be not received," that is, that he be out of the number of those, for whom the prayers of the Church are made, which the Eucharist is offered with. Therefore, Ignatius thus prosecuteth the words last quoted: "He that is without the sanctuary," saith he, "comes short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be so forcible with God, what shall we think of the prayer of the bishop and the whole Church?"* For, the efficacy of the prayers of the Church dependeth upon the unity of the Church; and the power of the keys is that which containeth that unity. It is therefore agreeable, that those prayers, which are of this efficacy, be the prayers of them whom this unity, and the power which preserves it, is trusted with. And for this reason, though all Christians be priests, as the Scripture says (1 Pet. ii. 5; Apoc. i. 6), by a far better title than Moses promises the Israelites (Ex. xix. 6), the sacrifice of prayer being the act of the whole Church: yet notwithstanding, it is by good right, that bishops and presbyters are called *sacerdotes* or sacrificers, in regard of the same sacrifice of

* [Epist. ad Ephesios, § 5. See this and the other references at full length in the Appendix to each chapter, printed at the end of the volume.]

prayer and thanksgiving, for which all Christians are called sacrificers: that is to say, by way of excellence, because that which is the act of all, is, by ordinance of the apostles (passed upon the whole Church), reserved to be executed and ministered by them, whom that power, which preserveth that unity, which enforceth the prayers of the Church, is trusted with.

He that refuseth this reason, as built upon consequences that convince not, must by consequence acknowledge, that the celebration of the Eucharist is peculiar to presbyters, merely by universal and perpetual practice of the Church, derived from the order settled by the apostles. Which, whether those of the Presbyteries will admit, I leave to themselves to advise. For, as for their pretence, that the ministry of both sacraments, is convertible with the office of preaching, upon which they style their pastors, or preaching elders, "ministers of the word and sacraments," it appears to be as void of any ground from the Scriptures, as it is wide from the original and universal practice of the Church. The "ministry of the word" being the office of apostles and evangelists, according to the Scriptures: the ministry of baptism, and preaching, communicable to deacons, and possibly to laymen, only the celebration of the Eucharist, proper to the power of the keys, in bishops and presbyters. But, putting all the reasons that here are advanced to compromise, yet, out of the premises, we have two effectual arguments, to convince the nullity of lay elders. The

first, from the manner of sitting in the church: inasmuch as it hath been shewed, that the order and custom of it, is to be derived from the apostles themselves, as being in use in their time. For, if the manner of their sitting in the church, were so distinguished, that all the presbyters sat in one rank, in the uppermost room, with the bishop in the midst, that is, in the head of them, his seat advanced above theirs, as St. Hierom witnesseth of the bishops of Alexandria from St. Mark; from which manner of sitting, they are called by the Greek fathers πρόεδροι, as in the Scriptures προεστῶτες, and in Tertullian, *præsidentes;* how can common-sense desire better evidence, that there are but two qualities, generally distinguishable in the Church, the one of presbyters, sometimes called προεστῶτες (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Thess. v. 12), sometimes ἡγούμενοι (Heb. xiii. 7, 17), sometimes *episcopi* (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. 1. 5, 7), comprehending bishop and presbyters for the reasons alleged (for to these the deacons, as their ministers, are to be referred), the other of the people? the same that in Tertullian are called *Ordo et Plebs*, in all ages of the Church since the apostles, the clergy and people. Secondly, seeing it is manifest, that the power of the keys is above the office of preaching to a Christian Church (indeed equal to that of celebrating the Eucharist), it followeth, that it is against the order declared by the Scripture, that the power of the keys should be in any man, that is not allowed to preach and celebrate the Eucharist; and therefore, that, by having the power of the keys, a man is

by right qualified to do it. And truly, I do much marvel, how this consequence can be refused, as to the office of preaching, when, as St. Paul requires, both of Timothy and Titus, that the presbyters which they ordain, be διδακτικοὶ, that is, fit to teach. For, no common sense can allow, that the word ἐπίσκοποι, having the signification, not from preaching, but from governing, is not to comprehend governing elders as well as preachers. Therefore the Scriptures make those preachers, whom the Presbyteries make governing elders. Here follows a third argument, drawn from the only text of the apostle, upon which their lay elders are grounded, with any appearance (1 Tim. v. 17): "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those that labour in the word and doctrine;" for, by the apostle's discourse, it is manifest, and, so far as I perceive, agreed on all hands, that the word honour, here spoken of, is maintenance. St. Paul's instruction supposing the order settled by the apostles to be this, that there should be in all Churches, settled in cities, as aforesaid, a common stock, at the disposing of bishop and presbyters, rising from the oblations of the faithful, out of which, first, those that attended upon the government of the Church, and the offices of divine service; then, those that could not attend the service of God, without maintenance from the public, might find subsistence. For hereupon it is, that St. Paul chargeth Timothy to honour widows indeed, that were destitute of maintenance from their friends, that they might abide in prayers and supplications, as Anna the prophetess

(Luke ii. 36), and Judith (viii. 5), and the good women that waited at the Tabernacle (Ex. xxxviii. 8; 1 Sam. ii. 22.) And when he saith, *χήρα καταλεγέσθω*, he shews, that there was then a list of them, called here *κατάλογος*, by Church writers, afterwards *canon*, which, whosoever was entered into, received appointment from the Church. (1 Tim. v. 5, 9, 16.) Let it therefore be said no more, that the distinction between clergy and people is not found in the Scriptures. For, how can the office be more expressly distinguished, than by the appointment that is allowed for the execution of it? and therefore, when St. Peter charges the presbyters (1 Peter v. 3), *μὴ κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων*, he means not the people, but he means the same which Clemens in Eusebius, when he says, that St. John was wont to go abroad from Ephesus to foreign Churches, on purpose, *κλῆρον ἕνα τινὰ κληρῶσαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων*, that is, to ordain some clergyman, that should be signified by the spirit: for in both places, *κλῆρος* is taken for *κληρικὸς*, and so St. Peter's precept *μὴ κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων ἀλλὰ τύποι γενόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου* consists of two members, not to domineer over the clergy that were under them, that is, the deacons, widows, and deaconesses, and to be a pattern to the flock. In this discourse of St. Paul, we have a further reason of difference between the clergy and people, from that rule of life and conversation to which the clergy was subject by the primitive discipline of the Church. For, if the Church allowed widows an appointment, in consideration of their daily attendance upon the service of God, much more are we bound to conceive, that presbyters,

whom the apostle allows a double appointment, are tied to double attendance on the same service; a thing which cannot be expected of those who are tied to the world; and therefore, Tertullian (De Præscript. cap. xli.) condemneth the heretics, because their fashion was to make secular men presbyters. Seeing then, that the apostle alloweth the same double appointment to the whole order of presbyters, let them that set up lay elders ask their own consciences, whether they can be content to allow them the same maintenance from the Church as themselves receive? otherwise let them not imagine they can set them up by this Scripture. For that some presbyters should labour in preaching, though all are required "to be apt to preach," is no inconvenience in that state when congregations were not distinguished, but the whole office rested in the whole order of the clergy, in relation to the whole body of the people of a Church. You see by St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv.) that one assembly, whereof he speaks there, furnished with a great number of prophets, whether presbyters, or over and above them. In the records of the Church, we find divers times a whole bench of presbyters presiding at one assembly. Is any man so insatiable of preaching, as to think the Church unprovided of it, unless all those preached at all times? Is it not enough that Timothy is required to count them especially worthy of double honour that labour in it? For by this means, those that laboured not in it, when and how Timothy finds it requisite, must know that their maintenance must come harder from his hands. For the last argument,

I must not forget the perpetual practice of the Church, though I name, for the present, but the words of Clemens, disciple to the apostles, who, in his epistle to the Corinthians [§ 40], to compose a difference among the presbyters of that Church, partly about the celebration of the Eucharist, advises them to agree and take their turns in it. If all the presbyters might take their turns in it, then all might celebrate the Eucharist. If in that Church, then in all Churches. I know many Church writers are quoted to prove lay elders; for that also is grown a point of learning, to load the margin with texts of Scripture and allegations of authors, in hope no man will take the pains to compare them, because, if he do, he shall easily find them nothing to the purpose. For instance, myself have the honour to be alleged for one that approve lay elders, even in that place, of that very discourse where I answer the best arguments that ever I heard made for them, only because I said then, as now, that we are not bound to think that all presbyters preached during the apostles' times. What reason then can any reader have to presume, that any of their dead witnesses make more for their purpose than I who am alive, and stand to see myself alleged point blank against the position which I intended to prove, because, forsooth, in their understanding, the premises which I use, stand not with the conclusion which I intended to prove? But to speak plain English for the future, if any man can show by any writing of any Christian, from the apostles to this innovation, any man endowed with the power of the keys, that

was not also qualified to preach and to celebrate the Eucharist, I am content to be of the presbyteries the next morning, though I am so well satisfied that it will never be shown, that I say confidently, it will always be to-morrow.

Now because the power of the keys, that is, the whole power of the Church, whereof that power is the root and source, is common to bishop and presbyters, it is here demanded what act we can shew peculiar to the bishop, by precept of God's word, for which that order may be said to be superior to that of presbyters. A demand suitable to the definition of the school, wherein an order is said to be a power to do some special act: but extremely wide of the terms that have been held heretofore. Have we been told all this while, that the Presbyteries are the throne and sceptre of Christ, the force and power of his kingdom; hath so much Christian blood been drawn for the cause; and now, instead of shewing that they are either commanded, or consistent with the word of God, is it demanded, that the government in possession in the Church, from the apostles, shew reason why it cannot be abolished, though instituted by the apostles? Surely, though this is possible to be shewed, yet though it could not be shewed, it might be beyond any power on earth to abolish the order of bishops. For my part, I conceive I have shewed heretofore, that the power of every respective Church was deposited by the apostles with the respective bishop and presbyters; and that therefore in the ages next to the apostles, the advice and consent of

the presbyters did concur with the bishop in ordering ecclesiastical matters; whereas congregations were not yet distinct, but a bishop and presbyters over the common body of each Church. Over and above what hath been said, the condemning of Marcion at Rome, and of Noetus at Ephesus, are expressly said by Epiphanius, (Hær. xlii. § i. & ii. Hær. lvii. § i.), to have been done and passed, by the act of the presbyters of those Churches. The difference between Alexander, bishop, and Arius, presbyter of Alexandria, is said to have risen at a meeting and debate of that bishop and his presbyters, in the letter of Constantine to these two, reported by Eusebius, (De Vitâ Constant. ii. cap. penult. [69]), and Epiphanius, Hær. lxix. § iii.), and which is of a later date, the excommunication of Andronicus, in Synesius, his fifty-seventh epistle, I find reported to have passed in the same sort;—and all this agreeable to the practice recorded in the Scriptures. For, when St. Paul instructeth Timothy, saying (1 Tim. v. 19, 20), "Against a presbyter receive not an accusation, but under two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke openly, that the rest may fear,"—is it not easy to gather from hence, that he commandeth such accusations to be brought and proved before Timothy with the rest of his presbyters; but the competent censure to be executed before the whole congregation of the Church. And is it not manifest that St. James first gives St. Paul audience in a consistory of the presbyters, to advise what course to take, before the congregation be acquainted with the business: (Acts xxi. 18)—the

same being the practice of St. Cyprian's time, when Cornelius of Rome writeth to him (Epist. xlvi.) "placuit contrahi presbyterium;" as also expressed in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 47), by the name of *συνέδρια*, or consistories appointed there to be held every week, for composing all differences, against the Lord's day; and therefore, as for my part, the learned Blondell might have spared all his exact diligence, to shew that presbyters did concur with the bishop in acts of this nature. The cunning would be in proving the consequence, that therefore bishop and presbyters are all one, which all common-sense disavows. For be it granted, which he insisteth upon so much, that (as the Commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles under St. Ambrose's name relateth, Eph. iv. 11), at the first the eldest of the presbyters was wont to be taken into the place of the bishop: (for it is probable that this course was kept in some places, though his conjectures will not serve to prove that it was a general rule): what will this enable him to infer as for the power of the bishop being once received into the first place: who knows very well the gallant speech of Valentinian, recorded by Ammianus, (lib. xxvi.) to the very army that had chosen him emperor, and at the instant of his inauguration began to mutiny about retracting their choice; that it was in their power to choose an emperor before they had done it; intimating, that being chosen, it was not in their power to withdraw their obedience. For, by the same reason, whatsoever be the means that promoted the bishop, the measure of the power to

which he was promoted, must be taken from the law given the Church by the apostles, expressed by the practice of it: as there is no doubt but the Roman emperors were advanced to an absolute power, though by the choice of their soldiers. It is not my purpose to say that the power of the bishop in the Church is such. But it is my purpose to appeal to common sense and daily experience, and to demand whether, in those societies or bodies, which consist of a standing council and a head thereof, endowed with the privilege of a negative, the power of the head, and of the several members, be one and the same? If not, then is there the same difference between the bishop and the presbyters, by the Scriptures, interpreted by the original practice of the Church. The instructions addressed to Timothy and Titus, I suppose, obliged not them alone, but all that were concerned, to yield obedience to what thereby they are commanded to do. If any thing concerning the subject of those instructions, could have passed without Timothy and Titus, they were all a mere nullity. For instance, if, by the presbyters' votes, ordination might have been made without Timothy, they might commit sin, and the blame thereof lie on Timothy's score: to which St. Paul, if he lay hands suddenly on any man, makes him liable. So the angels of the seven Churches, as they are commended for the good, so are they charged with the sins of their Churches. Which, how can it be reasonable, but for the eminent power in them, without which, no public thing could pass? I do here willingly mention Ignatius,

because of the injustice of that exception that is made against him. Surely, had we none but the old copy, which, for my part, is freely confessed to be interpolated, and mixed with passages of a later hand, I would confidently appeal to the common-sense of any man, not fascinated with prejudice, how that can be imagined to be always foisted in, which is the perpetual subject of all his epistles: dwelling only upon the avoiding of heresy and schism; and the avoiding of schism everywhere inculcated to consist in this, that without the bishop nothing be done, and all with advice of the presbyters? But it seems to me a special act of Providence, that the true copy of these epistles, free from all such mixture, is published during this dispute among us. Which the Lord Primate of Ireland having first smelt out, by the Latin translation which he published, Isaac Vossius, according as he presumed, hath now found and published, out of the library at Florence, far enough from suspicion of partiality in this cause. Nor is the learned Blondell to be regarded, presuming to stigmatize so clear a record for forged. It seems that his book was written before he saw this copy; and had he not condemned it in his preface, he must have suppressed and condemned his own work. But when it appears that this record is admitted as true and native, of all that are able to judge of letters, it must appear, by consequence, that he hath given sentence against his own book. In the meantime, it is to be lamented, that, by the force of prejudice, so learned a man had rather that the advantage of so many

pregnant authorities, of a companion of the apostles against the Socinians, should be lost to the Church, than part with his own, whether opinion or interest, condemned by the same evidence. Certainly those weak exceptions from the style of Ignatius, have more in them of will than of reason, to all that have relished that simplicity of language, which (called by St. Paul ἰδιωτικὸς λόγος), is to be seen in the writings of apostolical persons—Irenæus, Justin, Clemens Romanus, and after them Epiphanius, and the Apostolical Constitutions: and he was very forward to find exceptions, that could imagine that Ignatius calleth the order of bishops νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, because he so qualifieth the ordination of Damas, bishop of the Magnesians, being a young man when he was ordained bishop. As for the mention of the Valentinians' heresy in them, he hath been fully told, again and again, that the seeds of it are extant before Ignatius, in the writings of the apostles. But, as to my present purpose, he that considers of what consequence the unity of the Church is to the advancement of Christianity, and of what consequence, not only Ignatius, but St. Cyprian, St. Hierom, and all men of judgment, profess the power of bishops to be to the preservation of the unity of the Church, will not beg the question with Blondell, by condemning Ignatius's epistles, because the one-half of the subject of them is this one rule—nothing to be done without the bishop; all things to be done by advice of the presbyters. That to the Philadelphians is remarkable above the rest, where he affirmeth, that, having no intelli-

gence from any man, of the divisions that were among them, the Holy Ghost revealing it to him, said within him, for the means of composing them, "Without the bishop let nothing be done." If it be said that this rule is ineffectual, hindering rather than expediting the course of business: the answer is, that it is enough, that thus much is determined by the apostles, the rest remaining to be further limited by human right, as the state of the Church shall require.

According to this rule, it is justly said, that baptism is not given but by a bishop, as it is given only by those whom the order of any Church which was never put in force without the bishop enableth to give it; a thing manifestly seen by confirmation. What reason can we imagine, that Philip the deacon being enabled to do miracles, for the conversion of the Samaritans, was not enabled to give the Holy Ghost, but the apostles must come down to do it? was it not to shew, that all graces of that kind, were subject to the graces of the apostles in the visible Church, whereof they were then chief governors. So that, as then, those that received the Holy Ghost, were thereby demonstrated to be members of the visible Church, in which God evidenced his presence, by that grace: so was it always found requisite that Christians be acknowledged members of the visible Church, by the prayers and blessing of their successors. Which order, as it serves to demonstrate this succession, to all that are void of prejudice, so had it been improved to this apostolical intent, what time as all Christians

began to be baptized in infancy, (renewing the contract of Christianity—that is, the promise of baptism, and the chief pastor's acknowledgment of them for members of the Church upon that contract, by blessing them with imposition of hands), without doubt it had been and were the most effectual means to retain and retrieve the ancient discipline of the Church, when men might see themselves, by their own solemn profession, obliged to forfeit the communion of the Church, by forfeiting the terms on which they were admitted to it. If it can thus be said that baptism is not given without the bishop, much more will the same be said of other acts, of the power of the keys, whereof that is the first. Presbyters have an interest in it, limitable by canonical right; but as to the visible Church, that any man be excommunicated without a bishop, is against this rule of the apostles. About ordinations, divers matters of facts are in vain alleged by Blondell and others, from the ancient records of the Church, tending to degrade bishops into the rank of presbyters. If the Goths, from the time of Valerian to the Council of Nice, for some seventy years, (as he conjectureth out of Philostorgius, ii. 5); if the Scots before Palladius, as Fordun, (iii. 8), and John Maire, (ii. 2), relate, retained Christianity under presbyters alone, without bishops, they had not, in that estate, the power of governing their own Churches in themselves, but depended on their neighbours that ordained them those presbyters; and the government of the Church among them then must be, as now among the Abassines, where their one

bishop does nothing but ordain them presbyters, as Godignus, *ubi supra*, relates: and as the Catholic Christians of Antiochia lived for some thirty-four years after the banishment of Eustathius. (Theodoret, Ecclesiast. Hist. i. 21.) But if the Goths had bishops before Ulfilas, at the Council of Nice, as he shews out of the Ecclesiastical Histories, is any man so mad as to grant him, who never endeavours to prove it, that they were made by their own presbyters, rather than by the neighbour-bishops of the Roman Empire, from whence they received Christianity? The head of a monastery in Egypt being a presbyter, is said by Cassiane, (Collat. iv. 2), to have promoted a monk whom he loved to the priesthood. Is not this done by recommending him to his bishop for that purpose, though he ordained him not himself? The bishops of Durham and Lichfield are said by Bede (Eccles. Hist. Angl. iii. 3, 5) to come from the monastery of Hy, governed by a priest. And it is true, that the monks of that monastery, having great reputation of holiness, swayed the Church there. But, withal, Bede mentions expressly the synod of the province, and therefore we need ask no further who ordained them bishops, knowing, that by the primitive rules of the Church it is the act of a synod. Some seem to conceive this to be the meaning of the supposed St. Ambrose, upon Eph. iv. 2; where he saith, that at first, the eldest of the presbyters succeeded the bishop, but that afterwards the course was changed, "ut non ordo sed meritum crearet episcopum;" which they understand thus: that his merit,

and not the bench of presbyters, should make the bishop thenceforth ; and therefore, that formerly the presbyters did it. But this is nothing : for it is plain that *ordo* here, signifies not the bench of presbyters, but a man's rank in it, according to the time of his promotion to it. These and others of his slight objections, are easily wiped away ; but there are two, which seem to most men to create some difficulty. The one is the ninth [13] canon of the council of Ancyra, which, if the reading be true which he produces, and Walo Messalinus presses, intimates plain enough, that city presbyters might ordain presbyters at that time when it was made : the other is the Antiquities of the Church of Alexandria, published not long since, out of Eutychius's history, who was patriarch there in his time, and affirms, that from St. Mark to Demetrius, the bishop there was not only chosen, but ordained by imposition of the hands of twelve presbyters of that Church. To the canon of Ancyra I acknowledge, that the reading which they follow, is, beside the copies which they allege, found in a very ancient written one of the library at Oxford, as well as in the old Latin translation of Dionysius Exiguus, *χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑκάστῃ παροικίᾳ.* " That it be not lawful for country bishops to ordain presbyters or deacons : nor for the city presbyters, without leave granted from the bishop, by letters in every parish." But I cannot grant this reading to be true, which so many circumstances render questionable.

First, in an Arabic paraphrase, now extant in the same library, there is nothing to be found of that clause, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως. Secondly, Isidore Mercator's translation, which seems to be that which was anciently received in the Spanish Churches before Dionysius Exiguus, wherewith that copy agreed, which Hervetus translated, as also Fulgentius's Breviate, (Can. xcii.) and the copy of Dionysius Exiguus, which Pope Adrian the First followed, hath only this: "Vicariis episcoporum, quos Græci chorepiscopos vocant, non licere presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare. Sed nec presbyteris civitatis, sine episcopi præcepto, amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine authoritate literarum ejus, in unaquaque parochiâ, aliquid agere." Thirdly, can the reading of the last words, μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑκάστῃ παροικίᾳ, seem probable to reasonable persons? what consequence of sense is there in saying, "unless license be granted by letters in every parish?" which is plain in this reading, when it is said, "That the city presbyters do nothing in the parish," that is, in the country or diocese, "without authority by the bishop's letters." Fourthly, seeing this is that which is afterwards provided for by the Council of Laodicea (Can. lvi.) in the same subject, it seems very probable, that this should be the provision which the Council of Ancyra intended, as all Ignatius's epistles and other canons (Apost. xl. Arelat. xxi.) express it. Though, for my part, I do not believe that we have the true reading of this canon, in any copy that I have heard of or seen: because the Arabic paraphrase aforesaid, deduces the

clause of the country bishops at large, that it is not granted them, "Ut faciant presbyteros neque diaconos, omnino, neque in villa neque in urbe, absque mandato episcopi: nisi rogatus fuerit episcopus hac de re, et permiserit eis ut faciant eos, necnon scripserit eis scriptum, quod authoritatem dabit eis eadem de re." Whereupon, I do believe that the canon is abridged and curtailed in all copies, and that the true intent of it consists in two clauses: the first, that country bishops ordain neither presbyters nor deacons without leave under the bishop's hand: the second, that the city presbyters do nothing in the diocese, without the like leave: though I undertake not to give you the words of mine own head. As for Eutychius, I cannot admit his relation to be historical truth, having forfeited his credit in that part of it, where he says, that there were no bishops in Egypt, beside him of Alexandria, before Demetrius. The contrary whereof appears by Eusebius, (Eccles. Hist. vi. 1), where he says of Egypt, *τῶν δ' αὐτόθι παροικιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν νεωστὶ τότε μετὰ Ἰουλιανον Δημήτριος ὑπειλήφει*; "That then lately, Demetrius, after Julian, had undertook the bishopric of the dioceses there." For where there were dioceses there were bishops; and if Demetrius after Julian governed the diocese of Egypt, because bishop of Alexandria, then were there other episcopal Churches in that province, besides Alexandria, before Demetrius. Indeed, if there had been no bishops under Alexandria, it could not reasonably be avoided, that the bishop should be ordained by the presbyters: otherwise, foreign bishops, that

should be called to ordain them a bishop, must, by so doing, purchase a power over that Church, which never any can be said to have had over those capital Churches of Antiochia, Rome, Alexandria, or Constantinople. But, supposing that there were bishops under him of Alexandria, it is a greater inconvenience to grant that their chief should be made without their consent, (which ordination implies, by the often-quoted rule of St. Paul, 1 Tim. v. 22) by the presbyters of Alexandria. And therefore, when St. Hierom says (Epist. lxxxv.) that bishops were set over the presbyters, by custom of the Church, to avoid schism, because that, "Alexandriæ à Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant;" "at Alexandria, from Mark the evangelist, till Heraclas and Dionysius were bishops, the presbyters were wont to choose one of their number, and placing him in a higher degree, named him their bishop:"—I am not to grant, that he intends, by these words, that he was ordained also by the presbyters. For instance, Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vi. 29), relating, that at the ordination of Fabianus at Rome, a dove lighting upon his head the people crying out, ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι, 'took him presently and set him in the bishop's throne:' and yet it cannot be said, that, therefore, the people ordained him bishop. So likewise, the presbyters of Alexandria seated one of their number in the bishop's chair, saith St. Hierom: this installing, must needs have the force of a nomination by the presbyters, and

so sway and prejudice the consent of the bishops assembled to the ordination, (which regularly was to be done by a synod of bishops), that their choice was never known to have been void, before the time of Dionysius and Heraclas, which was enough to ground St. Hierom an argument, though ineffectual. But seeing Eusebius shews us, that there were other bishops in Egypt; seeing the life of St. Mark in Photius saith that he planted Churches in Pentapolis, (which seem to be those, over which, the authority of the bishop of Alexandria is established, by the Council of Nice, Can. vi.), I must not grant, that they received their chief from the presbyters of Alexandria, without their own consent, expressed by imposition of hands. This is my opinion of the credit which we are to give to these two passages, in point of historical truth. But supposing, not granting them both, I cannot see what can be inferred from either of them, prejudicial to the order of bishops, and the necessity thereof, above presbyters. For seeing it is acknowledged, that St. Mark ordained a bishop always to be head of that Church, and that by virtue of this ordinance, the presbyters find themselves obliged to proceed to create one, (which they did sooner at Alexandria than in other Churches, after the vacancy, saith Epiphanius, (Hær. lxix. 11), it is manifest, that the authority of a bishop is necessary to the validity of all acts of the Church, by St. Mark's ordinance: when they acknowledge themselves necessitated to make one, in the first place, that the acts thereof may be valid. Again, as to the canon

of Ancyra; suppose presbyters were ordained by presbyters, upon commission from the bishop, is this any prejudice to the rule, that nothing be done without the bishop? or is it any advantage to them that would have no bishops, and so, do all against the bishop? To my reason, it seems necessary to distinguish between the solemnity which an act is executed with, and the power and authority by which it is done. And that it cannot be prejudicial to any power, to do that by another, which seemeth not fit to be immediately and personally executed by it: the dependence of the Church being safe, by the commission acknowledged, and, the unity of the Church by that dependence. Some acts of the primitive Church seem to require this distinction. As, the making of presbyters by the chorepiscopi or country bishops, mentioned in the ancient Greek canons: which, by all likelihood, were not properly bishops, because not heads of a city Church, which is the apostolical rule for episcopal Churches. For, the aforesaid Arabic paraphrase of the canon of Ancyra describes them thus: "Interpretatio ejus est episcopi villarum, hoc est, vicarii episcopi per villas habitatas, quæ fuerint in universa operatione, id est diocesi." "The meaning of country bishops, is, that they are bishops of villages, that is, the bishop's vicars, in the best inhabited villages of all the diocese." So, it seems that they were set over the greater villages, or bodies of villages, which, in regard of some secular right, resort to some one village, lying within the territory of some episcopal city. Therefore the

Council of Antiochia saith expressly, (can. x.), that they, and the countries which they govern, are both subject to the bishop of the city: whereupon, it seems they were ordained by that one bishop, (and so, not properly bishops, which are ordained by a synod, or the representatives of it), and that this is the χειροτονία ἐπισκόπων, which the canon there mentions. And this is the reason why they are called *vicarii episcoporum*, bishop's deputies, in the ancient translation of the canons, as you have seen. So, if the canon of Ancyra enable them to ordain presbyters within their own precincts (for that must be the meaning of it, when it says, ἐν ἑκάστῃ παροικίᾳ, signifying part of the territory of the city, assigned to their peculiar care), it seems to delegate this power of the bishop, not to be exercised, without letters under his hand and seal, as the canon expresseth. Again, I suppose, no man will deny, that all ordinations in schism are mere nullities, though made by persons rightly ordained; because against the unity of the Church. And yet, we find such ordinations made valid, by the mere decree of the Church, without ordaining anew. As the Meletians in Egypt, by the Council of Nice, in Epiphanius and the ecclesiastical histories; and, as Pope Melchiades, much commended for it by St. Augustine, offered to receive all the Donatists in their own ranks, besides divers others that might be produced. Among which, that expressed in the canons (Antioch. xiii. Apost. xxxvi.) deserves to be remembered, whereby ordinations made in another bishop's diocese are made void. For the only reason why

some things, though they be ill done, yet are to stand good, is, because the power that doth them extendeth to them, but is ill used. So, when the power is usurped, as in all schism, or when that is done which the law makes void, it can be to no effect. Therefore, when the act of schism is made valid, it is manifest, that the order of bishop and presbyter, is conferred, in point of right, by the mere consent of the Church, which, by the precedent ordination, was conferred only in point of fact, being a mere nullity in point of right. Add hereunto, that of the Apostolical Constitutions, (viii. 27), that a bishop may be ordained by one bishop, being enabled by an order of the rest of the province, when they cannot assemble, in case of persecution, or the like. For, here, the power is derived from all, though the solemnity be executed by one. By the same reason it is, that confirmation, in Egypt, was done by the presbyters: as the supposed St. Ambrose, upon Eph. iv. (agreeing with the author of the Quæstiones in Vetus et Novum Testamentum, Quæst. ci. among St. Augustine's works), witnesseth: for that is it, which the one of them means by *consignant*, the other by *consecrat*, because both limit their assertion, that it was only done in the absence of the bishops. Which cannot be supposed at ordinations, because they were regularly to be made at a synod of bishops. For, seeing it was done only in the absence of the bishop, by consequence, it was done by order and commission from the bishop, by which the custom was established, and therefore, cannot be prejudicial to that power,

by virtue whereof it was done, as by authority derived from it. And, to my understanding, this is the reason of that which we find done, (Acts xiii. 1), where, Paul and Barnabas, being ordained by the immediate act of the Holy Ghost, to preach to the Gentiles, the solemnity thereof is performed by those, in whom we cannot imagine the power of sending them to rest. In which opinion I am much confirmed, by the practice of the Synagogue. For though it is manifest, that the custom of promoting judges by imposition of hands, came from the example of Moses, and the ordaining of the seventy elders, and Joshua, yet we must believe their records, compiled by Maimoni, (Tit. de Synedrio, cap. iv.) when they tell us, that, in process of time, it was done without that solemnity, by an instrument, or so, and yet, still called, nevertheless, סמיכה, that is, imposition of hands.

And now let them that demand, what is that special act which bishops are able to do, and presbyters not, take their choice. If they be content, that the bishops acting with this interest, that without him nothing be done, be counted a special act, they have the special act which they demand, in all things that are done in the Church. If they be not, though it is easy enough to dispute it everlastingly, yet I will not contend with them about it, seeing it is enough that nothing is done without him, to make him a fair step above his presbyters. And yet, I conceive, there is an act to be named peculiar to bishops, which is, to sit in a council. Which consisting of the representatives of all Churches, and not capable of all presby-

ters, and the bishop's right being, that without him nothing be done in his Church, it follows, that by the right by which he is a bishop, he is a member of his synod, which no priest can be but by privilege, seeing the whole order cannot. And this according to the Scriptures. For, by the premises, the apostles had place in the council at Jerusalem, as ordinary governors of the Churches concerned in it, which Churches had there no other representatives but Paul and Barnabas, (as heads of the Churches which they had founded so lately, Acts xiii. xiv.); as it appears, when, by them the decree is delivered to execution in the Churches. (Acts xvi. 4.) As for the presbyters mentioned in it, the same evidence which assures us that they were presbyters, assures us also, that they were presbyters of the Church at Jerusalem, and none else. This I conceive the fittest to be thought the special act of a bishop. For, the unity of the whole Church arises from the power deposited in each Church: by virtue whereof, he that communicates with any one Church, in any rank of it, communicates with all Churches in the same. Which was in the primitive Church the effect of the "literæ formatæ," or "letters of mark," by which this unity of the ancient Church was maintained, inasmuch as he that travelled with such a testimony of his rank in any one Church, by virtue of the same was received in all Churches where he came. And therefore, Synesius, in the sentence of excommunication against Andronicus, which, by his fifty-seventh epistle he published to the Churches, addeth, that if any Church con-

temning the sentence of his Church as a small and a poor one, should receive Andronicus to communion, without satisfaction given to him and his Church, thereby it shall become guilty of schism. This holds, as such acts are not questioned by any greater part of the Church, as not concerning the state of other Churches. Which if they be, then as no such Church can be concluded but by the act to which themselves concur, (whereby, all excommunications, and ordinations, as well as making of canons are the subject of synods) so, the chief power must needs be most seen, in that act which concludes all Churches concerned, which is the act of a synod.

As concerning the objection, that there is no precept in the Scripture, that bishops govern all Churches, and that many things ordained by the apostles are abolished in the Church; it is a question, whether it come from less skill or proceed to worse consequence; for, unless we will betray the advantages of the Church to very many, and perhaps to all heresies and schisms that ever were, we must confess, that as there are precepts in the Scripture that oblige not, so there are many things not set down in the Scripture in the form of precepts that oblige. What can be delivered in a more express form of precept, than that of St. Paul, that women pray with their heads covered, men with theirs uncovered? and yet, where is it in force? The same is to be said of the decree of Jerusalem, against eating things strangled, and blood. On the other side, we find by the Scriptures, that the apostles kept the Lord's day, but do not find there

that they commanded it to be kept. As for the fourth commandment, I suppose it is one thing to rest on the day that God ceased his work, and another on the day that he began it. And if there be precepts in the Scripture, that now oblige not, why may not Socinus dispute that the precept of baptism was temporary for them that had been enemies to the faith afore? and though I say not that he shall have the better hand, (for the truth cannot be contrary to the truth), yet, it shall not be possible for every Christian to discern whether he hath it or no, unless there be some more sensible ballast than nice consequences from the text of the Scripture. If it be thus of baptism, much more of the eucharist, which, as you saw, is not used any more in the Church as it was instituted. As for the power of the keys, it is absolutely, by this answer, betrayed to the Socinians, who would have it peculiar to the apostles: for, it is nowhere delivered as a precept, but only as a privilege. What means is there then to end everlasting difficulties? surely, the same that there is to understand all positive laws that ever were. For if the ancient interruption of the practice of any law, secure the Church, that it was not given to all times and places, sure that which is not mentioned as a precept, and yet has been always in practice without interruption, as it was in force afore it was mentioned, so was intended to oblige, not by the mention, but by the act that first established it, evidenced by practice. Which if it be so, then is there no power on earth able to abolish the order of bishops, having been in force in all Churches ever since the apostles.

I must not pass this place of limiting all interests, without a word or two of the office of deacons in the Church; in regard of two extreme opinions; one of Geneva, that makes them mere laymen, collectors of alms by necessary consequence, because under their lay elders; the other of some that would have them understand to be presbyters as oft as St. Paul mentions but two orders of bishops and deacons. (Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8.) But as the apostles were at first their own deacons, before the Church allowed them some to wait on them, and yet their own function was then holy, though some parts of it nearer to the end of the soul's health; so when deacons were made, reason enforces that they should attend on the meanest part of the office of the apostles, but always on holy duties. For, the tables which the apostles saw first, furnished themselves, but were attended by the deacons in doing it, when they were made were the same, which St. Paul speaks of, (1 Cor. xi. 20), which the eucharist was celebrated at, as the custom was daily to do at Jerusalem, (Acts ii. 42, 46); and therefore, their office, by this, was the same then, as always it hath been since, to wait upon the celebration of the eucharist. Secondly, I have shewed afore, that even the apostles and their followers the evangelists, were also deacons, with as much difference as there is between the persons whom they served—that is, between our Lord and his apostles on the one side, and the bishop and presbyters of a Church on the other. Whereupon the ministers of bishops and presbyters are called deacons absolutely;

and the word διακονεῖν, without any addition, signifies to execute a deacon's office (1 Tim. iii. 10.) But the apostles and evangelists are called deacons, with additions signifying whose ministers, or to what special purpose as hath been said. Thirdly, when St. Paul says: "They that do the office of a deacon well, purchase themselves a good step," (1 Tim. iii. 13), Clemens Alexandrinus, and the practice of the Church, interprets this step to be the rank of presbyters. Therefore they were in the next degree to it afore. Fourthly, it hath been shewed, that they sat not, but stood in the Church, as attending the bishop and presbyters sitting, and yet were employed in the offices of preaching and baptizing. And accordingly, in the primitive Church, a great part of the service, reading lessons, singing psalms, and some part of the prayers, were ministered by them, as I have shewed in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, (cap. x), which held correspondently in the synagogue. For the ministers and apparitors of their consistories, were also their deacons, and ministered Divine service in the synagogue. Whereby it appears to be the ordinance of the apostles, that the younger sort of those that dedicated themselves to the service of the Church, should be trained up in the service of the bishop and presbyters, as well to the understanding of Christianity, as to the right exercise of ecclesiastical offices; that in their time, such as proved capable, might come to govern in the Church themselves.

That which remains, concerning the interest of the people of the Church, will be easily discharged, if we

remember, that it must be such as may not prejudice either the dependence of Churches, or the chief power of the bishop with the presbyters in each particular Church. The law of the twelve tables, "Salus populi suprema lex esto," though it were made for a popular state, not for a kingdom, yet admits a difference between *populus* and *plebs*, and requires the chief rule to be the good, both of senate and commons, not of one part alone. So likewise, that which is said in the Scriptures to have been done by the Church, must not therefore be imagined to be done by the people, because the Church consists of two parts, called by Tertullian *ordo* and *plebs;* in the terms of latter times, the clergy and people, but preserving the respective interests of clergy and people. In the choice of Matthias it is said, "they set two:" (Acts i. 23): what *they*, but the Church? in which the people were then better Christians, than to abridge the apostles; but, proportionably, they are always to respect the bishop and presbyters, if they will obey the apostles that command it. (1 Thes. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 7, 17.) So when St. Paul says, "Do not ye judge those that are within," (1 Cor. v. 12), speaks he to the people or to the Church, that is, to the bench of presbyters and the people in their several interests, and that not without dependence upon the apostles? The words of our Lord, "Dic Ecclesiæ," (Matth. xviii. 17), make much noise. At the end of my book of the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, p. 428, you have a passage of St. Augustine, Cont. Epist. Parmen. iii. 2, that excommunication is the sentence of the Church.

And yet, I suppose, no man hath the confidence to dispute, that in St. Augustine's time it was the sentence of the people. So the excommunication of Andronicus, in Synesius's seven-and-fiftieth epistle, is entitled "to the Church," yet no man imagines that the people then did excommunicate. Is not the case the same in the Synagogue? Moses is commanded to speak to the congregation of the children of Israel, and he speaks to the elders:" (Exod. xii. 3, 21): does Moses disobey God in so doing, or does he understand the command of God, better than this opinion would have him, in speaking to the elders, who, he knew, were to act on behalf of the people? The law commands "the congregation to offer for ignorance." (Lev. iv. 13, 14; Numb. xv. 22, 24.) How shall all the congregation offer? Maimoni answers, in the Title of Errors, cap. xii. and xiii., that the great consistory offers as often as they occasion the breach of the law by teaching, that is, interpreting it erroneously. In the law of the cities of refuge, it is said, "The congregation shall judge," and "the congregation shall deliver the manslayer." (Num. xxxv. 25, 26.) The elders of the city of refuge were to judge, in presence and in behalf of the people, whether the manslayer was capable of the privilege of the city of refuge or not, as you read, Joshua xx. 4, 6. Seeing then, that these things being done by the elders are said to be done by the Synagogue, or assembly of the people, in behalf of whom they are done, it is a wrong to the Scriptures, when we say, that which they report to be done by the Church was acted by the chief

power of the apostles and presbyters, with consent of the people. For it is manifest in the Scriptures, that, in the apostles' times, all public acts of the Church were passed at public assemblies of the same; as ordinations (Acts i. 23; vi. 3, 6); excommunications (Matth. xviii. 18, 19, 20; 1 Cor. v. 4; 2 Cor. ii. 10); councils (Acts xv. 4, 25); other acts (2 Cor. viii. 19.) And herewith agrees the primitive custom of the Church for divers ages, to be seen in a little discourse of the learned Blondell, "Of the Right of the People in the Church," published of late. And can this be thought to no purpose, unless it dissolve the unity of the Church, or that obedience to the clergy which God commandeth? Is it nothing to give satisfaction to the people of the integrity of the proceedings of the Church, and by the same means to oblige superiors to that integrity, by making the proceedings manifest, and so to preserve the unity of the Church? I say not that these times are capable of such satisfaction, upon the like terms, as then: but from this practice under the apostles, I shall easily grant the people an interest in such things as may concern their particular congregations, of excepting against such proceedings as can appear to them to be against any rule of the Scripture, or of the whole Church. For this interest it is upon which the people is demanded, in the Church of England, what they have to say against ordinations and marriages to be made. And if their satisfaction in matter of penance were to be returned, it would be no more than the same reason infers. Especially be-

cause it hath been showed, that prayers of the people, or of the Church, is one part of the means to take away sin by the keys of the Church; the other being the humiliation of the penitent, according to that order and measure which the bishop and presbyters shall prescribe. (James v. 14, 15; 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21; Matth. xviii. 20; 1 John v. 16.) And if this interest were made effectual by the laws of Christian states and kingdoms, to the hindrance of such proceedings wherein the power of the Church may be abused, the Church shall have no cause to complain. But, that the power should be taken from the Church, because the laws of the state are not so good as they might be, is as unjust and pernicious a medicine, as to put the chief power in the hands of the people. For, seeing it hath been demonstrated, that as it was the custom to pass such acts at the assemblies of the whole Church, so was it also, to advise and resolve upon them at the consistories of the clergy, it is manifest, that the suffrage of the people, often mentioned in Church writers, was not to resolve, but to pass what was resolved afore, because nothing appeared in bar to it. For the interest of the people extending no further than their own Church, and it being impossible that all the Christians within the territories of cities, belonging to the respective Churches, should all assemble at once, it is manifest, none of these matters could be resolved by number of votes, and therefore that the power was not in the people, but a right, to be satisfied of a right use of the power by those that had it: which, how it may be made effec-

tual to the benefit of the people in a Christian Church and state, is not for me to determine. But by virtue of this right it is, that (as Justellus in his notes upon the Greek and African canons, hath observed to us, especially out of the records of the Churches of Africk and of the west), for divers ages, the best of the people, who, as he shows, were called *seniores et presbyteri ecclesiarum*, were admitted to assist at the passing of the public acts of those Churches. In all which, as there is nothing to be found like the power of the keys, which lay elders are created to manage; so, he that will consider the interest, in which it appears they did intervene, comparing it with the intolerable trouble, which the concurrence of the people was found to breed when the number of Christians was increased by the emperor's professing Christianity, will easily judge, that it was nothing else but the interest of the people which, in succeeding ages, was referred to some persons chosen out of them to manage in the public acts of the Church. And this custom is suitable enough with the office of church-wardens in the Church of England, if it had been established, as well in the mother and cathedral, as in the parish churches.

CHAPTER IV.

SECULAR PERSONS, AS SUCH, HAVE NO ECCLESIASTICAL POWER, BUT MAY HAVE SOVEREIGN POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.—THE RIGHT OF GIVING LAWS TO THE CHURCH; AND THE RIGHT OF TITHES, OBLATIONS, AND ALL CONSECRATIONS, HOW ORIGINAL, HOW ACCESSORY TO THE CHURCH.—THE INTEREST OF SECULAR POWERS IN ALL PARTS OF THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

THESE things thus determined, and the whole power of the Church thus limited in bishops and presbyters, with reservation of the interest of the people specified: it follows necessarily, that no secular person whatsoever, endowed with sovereign or subordinate power, in any state, is thereby endowed with any part of this ecclesiastical power hitherto described. Because it hath been premised for a principle, here to be reassumed, that no state, by professing Christianity, and the protection thereof, can purchase to itself, or defeat the Church of any part of the right whereof it stands possessed, by the original institution of our Lord and his apostles; and therefore, no person endowed with any quality, subsisting by the constitution of any state, can challenge any right that subsisteth by the constitution of the Church, and therefore belongeth to some person qualified by the same. For ecclesiastical power I understand here to be only that which subsisteth by the constitution of the Church; and therefore all by Divine right,

to all that acknowledge no human authority capable of founding the Church: and therefore by Divine right invested in the persons of them that have received it, mediately or immediately, from the apostles: (seeing it is noways imaginable, how any man can stand lawfully possessed of that power, which is effectually in somebody else, from whom he claimeth not): and therefore not to be propagated but by the free act of them that so have it. But I intend not hereby to exclude secular powers from their right in Church matters, but intend to distinguish between ecclesiastical power and power in ecclesiastical matters, and these to distinguish by the original, from whence they both proceed, because, so we shall be best able to make an estimate of the effect which both of them are able to produce, according to the saying observed afore, "That the water rises no higher than it descended afore." For, if by ecclesiastical power, we mean that which arises from the constitution of the Church, it is not possible, that by any quality not depending on the same, any man should be enabled to any act that doth. But if power in matters of religion, be a power necessary to the subsistence of all states, then have Christian states that power in the disposing of Christianity, which all states in general have, in the disposing of those things which concern that religion which they suppose and profess. And this to prove, I will not be much beholden to the records of histories, or to the opinions and reasons of philosophers: seeing common-sense alone is able to shew us that there is not any state professing any re-

ligion, that does not exercise an interest in disposing of matters of religion, as they have relation to the public peace, tranquillity, and happiness of that people. The power of disposing in matters of religion, is one part, and that a very considerable one, of that public power wherein sovereignty consists, which subordinate powers enjoy not, by any title, but as derived from the sovereign. Wherefore, having premised for a principle in the beginning, that Christianity makes no alteration in the state of civil societies, but establishes all in the same right, whereof they stand possessed when they come to embrace Christianity, I must infer, that the public powers of Christian states have as good right to the disposing of matters of Christianity, (so that, according to the institution of Christ, nothing done by the Church may prove prejudicial to the state), as any sovereign power that is not Christian, hath, in the disposing of matters of that religion which they profess. For, seeing it is part of the profession of Christianity, to confirm and establish, not to question or unsettle any thing which is done by civil justice in any state, whatsoever secular powers shall do towards maintaining the state of this world in tranquillity, cannot be prejudicial to Christianity rightly understood. Neither can it be true Christianity which cannot stand with the course of true civil justice. It hath been effectually proved by Church writers against the Gentiles, that supposing them not to believe the Christian faith, notwithstanding, they cannot with civil justice persecute the Christians; and all upon

this score, that Christianity containeth nothing prejudicial to civil society, but all advantageous. But though the Christian religion be grounded upon truth indeed revealed from God; yet religion, in general, is a moral virtue, and part of the profession of all civil nations. In so much as, that people which should profess to fear no God, would thereby put themselves out of the protectiou of the law of nations, and give all civil people a right and title to seek to subdue them for their good, and to constrain them to that which the light of nature is able to demonstrate to be both true and due. For, how can any of them expect faith and truth in civil commerce, from them that acknowledge no reason for it? or how can they be thought to acknowledge any reason for it, that acknowledge no God to punish the contrary? or how can they be but enemies of mankind, from whom that cannot be expected? But in Christianity there is that particularity, which I declared afore, that God hath declared his will and pleasure to be, that it be received into the protection of all kingdoms and commonwealths. Wherefore, it is further the will of God, that secular powers that are Christian, act in the protection of Christianity, not only as secular powers, but as Christians; and by consequence, that they hold themselves obliged to the maintenance of all parts of Christianity;—that is, whatsoever is of Divine right in the profession and exercise of it. But it is very well said otherwise, that this whole right of secular powers in ecclesiastical matters, is not destructive but cumula-

tive; that is, that it is not able to defeat or abolish any part of that power, which, by the constitution of the Church, is settled upon ecclesiastical persons; but stands obliged to the maintenance and protection of it. For, seeing this power in the persons endowed with it by the constitution of the Church, is a very considerable part of that right which God hath established in his Church, it follows necessarily, that no power ordained to the maintenance of all parts thereof, can extinguish this. And truly, he that advises but with his own common-sense, shall easily perceive that ecclesiastical power may be able to preserve order and discipline in the Church, by itself, so long as the world, that is, the state, professes not Christianity, as we see it was, before the Roman Empire was Christian. But when the state professes Christianity, it cannot be imagined, that persons qualified by the state, will ever willingly submit to acknowledge and ratify the power of the Church, in all the acts and proceedings thereof, unless the co-active power of the sovereign enforce it. All states, therefore, have sovereign power, as well in matters of Christian religion, as in other points of sovereignty; that is, they are able to do all acts of sovereign power in Church matters: to give laws, as well concerning matters of religion, as civil affairs: to exercise jurisdiction about ecclesiastical causes: to command in the same, which seems to be the most eminent act of sovereignty, seeing that giving of laws and jurisdiction, are but particulars of that general, the one;—that is, giving laws in generals, the other,

that is, jurisdiction in particular causes, and both of them tending to limit that power of command or empire, which otherwise is absolute in the disposition and will of the sovereign; and therefore, the most civil people that ever was, the Romans, have denominated sovereignty by this act of command, *Imperium*, or Empire. But all these acts of sovereign power in Church matters, being distinguished from the like acts of ecclesiastical power, not by their material but formal objects; that is, not by the things, persons, or causes in which, but by the reasons upon which, and the intents to which they are exercised, must needs leave the powers of the Church entire, to all purposes, as it finds the same in those that have it, by the constitutions of the Church.

Here are two points of the power of the Church to be settled, before we go any further; not because of any affinity or dependance between them, but because the reason is the same, which causes the difficulty in both. Whether there be an original power in the Church to give laws as to the society of the Church: whether there be an original right in the Church to tithes, oblations, first-fruits, and, generally, to all consecrate things, seem to most men more than disputable, because the accessory acts of secular powers (which in all Christian states have made the laws by which Christianity is exercised, the laws of those several states have established the endowment of the Church upon it, by that co-active power which they only in chief are endowed with), being most visible to common-sense, seem to have obscured the original

right of the Church in both particulars. Over and besides all this, those of the Congregations deny the Church all power of giving laws, rules, canons, or however you please to call them, to the Church; for, to this purpose, they make all congregations absolute and sovereign, that nothing be done in the Church without the consent of every member of it; not acknowledging so much as that rule, which all human society besides acknowledges, the whole to be bound by the act of the greater part; but requiring that every man's conscience be satisfied in everything that the Church does, unless some happily appear wilful, whom, by way of penalty, they neglect for that time.

As for those of the presbyteries, I cannot deny that they grant the Church this power: but, it seems upon condition that it may rest in themselves: for, to the laws of this Church, in which they received and professed Christianity, they oppose the saying of the apostle, that it stands not with charity, for the Church to enjoin anything which weak consciences may be offended at: and that of our Lord, that this would be will-worship and serving of God according to human traditions; which are all the arguments which those of the Congregations allege for their opinion, so far as I can learn. It will be, therefore, worth the while to consider the cases which the apostle decides upon that principle, though I have done it in part already in my larger Discourse (p.309); for, so long as the case is not understood in which the apostle alleges it, no marvel if it be brought to

prove that which he never intended by it. We know he resolves both the Romans and the Corinthians by this sentence. With the Corinthians, the case was concerning the eating of things sacrificed to idols; which the apostle manifestly distinguishes that it may be done two ways, materially, and formally: materially, when a man eats it "as a creature of God, giving him thanks for it;" which the apostle therefore determines to be agreeable to Christianity, (1 Cor. viii. 7): formally, when a man eats it, "with conscience of the idol as a thing sacrificed to it," as the apostle expresses it, that is, with a religious respect to it, which, therefore, he shows at large to be idolatry. (1 Cor. x. 7, 14.) Wherefore, though things sacrificed to idols, be as free for Christians to eat as any men else, yet, in some cases and circumstances, it so fell out, that a Christian eating with a Gentile of their sacrifices, (the remains whereof were the cheer which they feasted upon, and their feasts part of the religion which they served their idols with), might be thought by a weak Christian to hold their sacrificing as indifferent as their meat, and he that thus thought, be induced to eat them, formally, as things offered to idols: as eating them in the temples of idols, or, at a feast made by a Gentile, upon occasion of some sacrifices. (1 Cor. viii. 10; x. 27.) In this case the apostle determines, that charity requires a Christian to forbear the use of his freedom, when the use of it may occasion a weak Christian to fall into misprision of idolatry. But, among the Romans, the case which St. Paul speaks to, was between

Christians converted from Jews and from Gentiles; as appears by the particulars which he mentions to be scrupled at, to wit, "days and meats," (Rom. xiv. 2, 5); and the offence likely thereby to come to pass, this, that Jewish Christians, seeing the heathenish eat things forbidden by the law, (and perhaps, among the rest, things sacrificed to idols, forbidden, not by the letter of the law, but by the interpretation and determination of it in force by the authority of the Synagogue, or Consistory), might imagine that Christians renounced the law of God, and, by consequence, the God of the law; and so, out of zeal to the true God, fall from Christianity and perish: for this is manifestly the offence, and stumbling, which the apostle speaks of, (Rom. xiv. 13, 15, 20), as I have showed out of Origen, in the place afore-quoted. Here is then the sentence of the apostle, that, when the use of those things wherein Christians are not limited by the law of God, becomes an occasion of falling into sin to those that understand not the reason of the freedom of Christians, charity requires a Christian to forbear the use of this freedom. From whence, who so infers, that therefore, no ecclesiastical law can be of force, when it meets with a weak conscience, and therefore never, because it may always meet with such, will conclude the contrary of the apostle's meaning. For, when Christianity makes all things free to a Christian that are not limited by God's law, it makes not the use of this freedom necessary to Christianity; the apostle saying expressly, that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink,"

(Rom. xiv. 17); by consequence, not the observing, or not observing of days: that is, consists no more in not eating, or not observing days, than in eating and in observing them. So that, as he that submits unto the law of charity, must forbear his freedom once and as often as the use of it ministereth offence, so for the same reason must he always forbear the use of it whensoever the use of it comes to be restrained, though not by God's law, yet by the law of the Church: because the greatest offence, the greatest breach of charity, is, to call in question the order established in the Church, in the preservation whereof the unity of the Church consisteth. Whereunto thus much may be added, that, as the things that are determined by the canons of the Church, are not determined by God's law, as to the species of the matter and subject of them, yet, as to the authority from whence the determination of them may proceed, they may be said to be determined by God's laws, inasmuch as by God's law that authority is established, by which those things are determinable, which the good order and unity of the Church requires to be determined. The evidence of which authority, is as express in God's book as it can be in any book inspired by God. Those of the Congregations indeed, betake themselves here to a fort, which they think cannot be approached, when they say, that, what is written in the Scriptures is revealed from above, and therefore, the laws that are there recorded, are no precedents to the Church, to use the like right. For, it is manifest by the Scriptures of the Old Testament,

that there were many laws, ordinances, constitutions, or what you please to call them, in force at that time, which no Scripture can show to have been commanded by revelation from God, as the law of God. Daniel forbore the king's meat, because a portion of it was sacrificed to their idols, dedicating the whole to the honour of the same: that is, he forbore to eat things sacrificed to idols materially. Therefore, that order which we see was afterwards in force among the Jews, was then in use and practice: not by the law of God; therefore by the determination of those whom the law gave power to determine such matters. The prophet Joel reckons up many circumstances and ceremonies of the Jews' public fasts and humiliations, (Joel ii. 15-17); which are so far from being commanded by the law, that the Jews' doctors confess, there is no further order for any fasts in the law, than that which they draw, by a consequence far enough fetched, out of Num. x. 9, where order is given for making the trumpets, which they say, and the prophet supposes, that their fasts were proclaimed with. (Maimoni, Tit. Taanith, cap. i.) In another prophet (Zac. vii. 3; viii. 19), it appears that there were set fasts which they were bound to solemnize every year, on the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months: as also it appears by the words of the Pharisee, (Luke xviii. 12), that the Mondays and Thursdays were then, and before then, observed by the Jews, as since they have been: and, as you see the like done in the feast of lots, ordained in Esther's time; and that, of the dedication in Judas Macca-

beus's; and, in the same prophet (Zac. xii. 12-14) you have a manifest allusion to the Jews' ceremonies at their funerals, recorded by Maimoni in the title of Mourners, (cap. ix.), clearly showing that they were in force in that prophet's time: as it is manifest that they began before the law itself, not only by that which we read of the funeral of Jacob, in Genesis, but chiefly because it required an express law of God, to derogate from it, as to the priests, in the case of Aaron's sons, (Levit. x. 6; xxi. 1, 10, 11, 12.) Many more there are to be observed in the Old Testament, if these were not enough to evidence that which cannot be denied, that it appears indeed by Scripture, that there were such laws in force; but that they were commanded by revelations from God, is quite another thing: though men of learning sometimes make themselves ridiculous by mistaking, as if all that is recorded in the Scriptures were commanded by God, when, all that comes from God is the record of them as true, not the authority of them as divine. The case is not much otherwise in the New Testament, where it is manifest, that many constitutions, ordinances, or traditions (as the apostle sometimes calls them, 1 Cor. xi. 2) are recorded, which no man can say that they obliged not the Church; and yet, this force of binding the Church, comes not from the mention of them, which we find in several places of Scripture; (for, they must needs be in force before they could be mentioned as such in the Scriptures) but, from that power which God had appointed, to order and determine such things in his

Church. This difference indeed there is between the Old and New Testament, that this, being all written in the apostles' time, can mention nothing of that nature, but that, which coming from the apostles, might come by immediate revelation from God, which of the Old cannot be said. For, though there were prophets in all ages of it, and those prophets endowed with such trust, that if they commanded to dispense with any of God's own positive laws, they were to be obeyed, as appears by Elias commanding to sacrifice in Mount Carmel, contrary to the law of Levit. xvii. 4, (and this by virtue of the law Deut. xviii. 18, 19, because, he that gave the law by Moses, might, by another, as well dispense with it), yet it is manifestly certain, that nevertheless they had not the power of making those constitutions which were to bind the people in the exercise of their religion according to the law. For when the law makes them subject to be judged by the consistory, whether true prophets or not (whereupon, we see, that they were many times persecuted, and our Lord at last put to death by them that would not acknowledge them, because they had not the grace to obey them, as you saw before), it cannot be imagined that they were enabled to any such act of government, as giving those laws to the Synagogue. Especially, seeing by the law of Deut. xvii. 8-12, this power and this right is manifestly settled upon the consistory. For seeing that, by the law, all questions arising about the law are remitted to the place of God's worship, where the consistory sat in all ages; and the determination of

a case, doubtful in law, to be obeyed under pain of death, is manifestly a law which all are obliged to live by; of necessity, therefore, those who have power to determine what the written law had not determined, do give law to the people. And this right our Lord himself, who, as a prophet, had right to reprove even the public government where it was amiss, establishes, as ready to maintain them in it, had they submitted to the gospel, when he says (Matt. xxiii. 2), "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair; all therefore that they teach you observe and do." The Scribes and Pharisees being either limbs and members, or appendages of the consistory, who, under pain of death, were not to teach anything, to determine anything that the law had not determined, contrary to that which the consistory had first agreed. Whereby it is manifest, that all those laws and ordinances aforenamed, and all others of like nature, which all common-sense must allow to have been more than the Scripture anywhere mentions, are the productions of this right and power placed by God in the consistory, on purpose to avoid schism and keep the body of the people in unity, by showing them what to stand to, when the law had not determined. So that this is nothing contrary to the law of Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32, which forbiddeth "to add to, or take from God's law," the law remaining entire, when it is supplied by the power which itself appointeth. And he that will see the truth of this with his eyes, let him look upon the Jews' constitutions, compiled into the body of their Talmud. Which, though they are now written, and

in our Saviour's time were taught from hand to hand, though, by succession of time and change in the state of that people, they cannot continue in all points the same as they were in our Saviour's time, yet it is manifest, that the substance of them was then in force, because whatsoever the gospel mentions of them, is found to agree with that which they have now in writing; and are all manifestly the effect of the lawful power of the consistory. Nor let any man object, that they are the doctrines of the Pharisees, which they pretended that Moses received from God in Mount Sinai, and delivered by word of mouth to his successors; and that the Sadducees were of another opinion, who never acknowledged any such unwritten law, but tied themselves to the letter (as doth, at this day, one part of the Jews, which renounce the Talmud, and rest in the letter of the law, who are therefore called *Karaim*, that is, Scripturaries.) For though all this be true, yet neither Pharisees nor Sadducees then, neither Talmudists nor Scripturaries now, did, or do, make question of acknowledging such laws and constitutions, as are necessary to determine that which grows questionable in the practice of the law; but are both in the wrong, when as, to gain credit to those orders and constitutions, which both bodies respectively acknowledge, the one will have them delivered by God to Moses; the other will needs draw them, by consequence, out of the letter of the Scripture: and so entitle them to God otherwise than he appointed, which is only as the results and productions of that power which he ordained to end all

matter of difference, by limiting that which the law had not. The same reason necessarily takes place under the New Testament, saving the difference between the law and the gospel. For, under the law, this power took place in the practice of all ceremonial and judicial laws proper to the synagogue; as well as in determining the circumstances and ceremonies of the worship of God, which still remain under the gospel, saving the difference thereof from the law. For under the gospel, there belong to Christianity two sorts of things; the first whereof, are of the substance of Christianity, as concerning immediately the salvation of particular Christians. And this kind is further to be distinguished into matter of faith, and matter of life, or manners. The second concerns indeed the salvation of particular Christians (as containing the unity of the Church, and the due exercise of all those ordinances which God will be served with in the unity of the Church), but mediately, as they are means to beget and preserve in all Christians, those things of the former sort, that concern faith or good manners. For if it were morally possible to imagine that a man, blamelessly deprived of all means of communion with the Church, could be nevertheless endowed with all parts of a Christian in faith and good manners, I do not see how any discreet Christian could deny such a one the end of Christianity, which is life everlasting. All things therefore, concerning faith and good works, necessary to the salvation of particular Christians, are so revealed, or rather so commanded by our Lord and his apos-

tles, that it is not possible for all the Church that succeeds, to declare anything to be such, that is not, expressly, or by consequence, contained in their writings. For how shall all the Church be able to add anything to this number, but by shewing the same motives which our Lord and his apostles advanced to the world, to persuade them, not only that what they spoke was revealed by God, but also, that they were sent to require the world to believe and obey them? But as to that which concerns the society of the Church, and the public service of God, in the unity of the same, what can we say our Lord in person commanded, but the power of the keys, upon which it is founded, and the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, in the communion whereof, the unity of the Church consisteth? And his apostles, how did they proceed in determining the rest? Surely, he that will say, that they never enacted anything, till a revelation came on purpose from God, will fall under the same inconveniences, which render the infallibility of the pope, or the Church, ridiculous to common-sense. Which, if they believed themselves, sure they would never call councils, advise with doctors, debate with one another, to find what may truly be said, or usefully determined, in matters of difference. In like manner, when the apostles assemble themselves at Jerusalem, (Acts xv. 1), to debate in a full meeting, with Saul and Barnabas, the presbyters of Jerusalem, and the rest, what to resolve in the matter there questioned; I say not they were no prophets, or had no revelations from

God when he pleased: but I say, it is manifest that they proceeded not upon confidence of any revelation promised them, at this time and in this place, but upon the habitual understanding, which, as well by particular revelation from God, as by the doctrine of our Lord, they had, proportionable to the chief power, over the whole Church, which they were trusted with. To speak ingenuously mine own opinion, which I seek not to impose upon any man's faith, I do believe, that some person of those that were then assembled in council, had a present inspiration, revealing, that God's will was, that the decree there enacted should be made. My reason is, because I observe, by divers passages of the Old and New Testaments, that God was wont to send revelations to his prophets, at the public assemblies of the Church or Synagogue. As, at the sending of Saul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 2); at the ordination of Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 14); at the assemblies of the Corinthians (1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25, 30); at Josaphat's Fast (2 Chron. xviii. 14); at Saint John's ordinations; whereof Clemens, in the place afore alleged out of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical Histories, saith, that the apostle was wont to go abroad, to ordain such as were signified by the Holy Ghost: whereupon St. Paul saith of the presbyters of Ephesus, that the Holy Ghost had set them over the flock, (Acts xx. 28); and therefore, when it is said, (Acts xv. 28), "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," I take it that some such revelation is intimated. But, this notwithstanding, when we see the message sent, the

Church assembled, the cause debated, without assurance of any such revelation to be made, whereof no prophet had assurance till it came; we see, they proceeded not, upon presumption of it, but upon the conscience of their ordinary power, and the habitual abilities given them to discharge it. So that, from the premises, we have two reasons serving to vindicate the same power to the Church. The first, because the constitutions in force under the apostles cannot be said to come from particular extraordinary inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but from the ordinary power of governing the Church, which was to continue. The second, because by the proceedings of the council of Jerusalem, it appears, that no revelation was a ground, or requisite, to the determining of the matter there in difference. To which I add a third, from St. Paul's words (1 Cor. xi. 16): "If any man be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Where, having disputed, by many reasons, that women were to veil their faces at the service of God in the church, he sets up his rest upon laudable custom of the Church. Now, if custom be available, to create right in the Church, as in civil societies, then authority much more; without which, either prescribing or allowing, neither that custom which the apostle specifies, nor any other, could take place. And a fourth, from that observation so advanced and improved, that no man can deny it, but he that will make himself ridiculous to all men of learning, besides the instances thereof in the premises, which is this: That the orders which the

apostles settled in the Church, saving the difference between the law and the gospel, are always, or at least most, an end, drawn from the pattern of the Synagogue. Whereby it appeareth, that the convenience of them was evident, not by revelation, but by human discourse; but the force of them comes from the authority of the apostles, prescribing or allowing them in the Church; both which are always in the Church, though in less measure. Fifthly, this is proved by the premises: wherein I conceive it is proved, that the clergy, in the Church, succeeds into the authority of the Jews' consistories in the Synagogue: wherefore, having shewed that these consistories did give law to the Synagogue, in all matters of religion, not determined by God, it follows that the same may be done in the Church. Sixthly, the same followeth from the dependence of Churches. For, if congregations be made independent, that no Christian may receive law from man, wherein he is not satisfied of the will of God; then, having proved that congregations are not independent, it follows that they are to receive law, in all things not contrary to the will of God. Seventhly, the exercise of this power in all ages of the Church, and the effects of it, in great volumes, of lawful canonical decrees, though it be a mark of contradiction to them that are resolved to hate that which hath been, because it hath been, yet, to all whose senses are not maleficiated with prejudice, it is the same evidence of this power, (though not always of the right use of it), by which Christianity itself stands recommended to us. Lastly, can

those of the congregations say, that no public act is done among them, without the free and willing consent of all, as satisfied in conscience, that it is the will of God which is decreed? Then are they not men? For, among all men, there is difference of judgment. If, notwithstanding they are enforced to proceed, why depart they from the Church? For, if those that place the chief power in congregations, cannot avoid to be tied by other men's acts, why refuse they to be tied once for all, by such general acts as laws are? Which, as they must needs be done by persons capable to judge what the common good of the Church requires, (which, it is madness to imagine, that members of congregations can be) so, they have the force, when they are once admitted, to contain the whole body of the Church agreeing to them in unity: whereas, to acknowledge no such, tends to create as many religions as persons.

And now to the objection of will-worship in the observation of human constitutions, the answer will not be difficult. That sin, I do truly believe to be of a very large extent, as one of the extremes opposite to the virtue of religion, understanding religion to be all service of God with a good conscience. Thus all the idolatries of the Gentiles, all the superstitions of Judaism and Mahometism, are will-worships. For, man being convinced of his duty to serve God; and neither knowing how to perform, nor willing to render that service which he requires, because inconsistent with his own inclinations; it follows, that, by a voluntary commutation, he ten-

ders God something which he is willing to part with, instead of his concupiscences: having condemnation, both for neglecting to tender that which is due, and for dishonouring God, by thinking Him to be bribed by his inventions to wink at his sins. And, therefore, I do grant, that the constitutions which the Synagogue was by God's law enabled to make, were capable to be made the matter of superstition and will-worship, as, indeed, in our Lord's time they were made. The reason, because presuming to be justified by the works of the Law, and the Law among them being not only the written, but that which was taught by word of mouth, the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees (which the disciples of Christ shall never enter into the kingdom of heaven unless they exceed), consisted not only in the letter of the ceremonial and judicial precepts, but in observing the determinations of their consistories. And accordingingly I do grant, that the rules, decrees, and constitutions of the Church are capable to be made the matter of the same sin, and that they are made so visibly in divers customs and practices of the Church of Rome. But is it a good reason to say, that because human constitutions may be made the subject of superstition and will-worship, therefore the Church hath no power to make any, therefore the members of the Church are not tied to obey any? or, may there not be superstition and will-worship in abhorring, as well as in observing, human constitutions? If St. Paul be in the right, there may. For, if the kingdom of God consist in righteousness, and

peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, not in eating or not eating, in observing or not observing days,—by the same reason it consists no more in not doing than in doing that which the law of God determineth not. Wherefore, if any man imagine that he shall please God in not observing, in refusing, in opposing, in destroying human constitutions, regulating the public order of the Church, it is manifest, that this is, because he thinks he shall be the better Christian, by forbearing that which God commands him not to forbear, seeing he can find in his heart to violate unity and charity, that he may forbear it.

Here it may be demanded of me, why I express no other ground of this power in the Church, than the indetermination of those things which order and unity require to be determined in the Church: for, seeing matters of faith are determined by God's word, it seems to follow that the Church hath nothing to do to determine of matters of doctrine in difference. And, seeing the ceremonies of Divine service, besides the determining of that which the Scripture determineth not, pretend further, to advance and improve devotion in the public worship of God, as I have discoursed more at large in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service, (cap. ix.), it seems, if there be no other ground for the legislative power of the Church, that the Church hath nothing to do to institute such ceremonies. To which I answer, that it is one thing to make that matter of faith which was not; another, to determine matter of faith, that is, to determine what members of the Church shall do in acknowledg-

ing or not acknowledging that which is in question, to be or not to be matter of faith. For, if there be a society of the Church, then must there be in the Church a power to determine what the members thereof shall acknowledge and profess, when it comes in difference: which is, not to qualify the subject; that is, to make anything matter of faith or not, but to determine that those which will not stand to the act of the whole; that is, of those persons that have right to conclude the whole, shall not be of it. So, the obligation that such acts produce, as it comes from the word of God, which the Church acknowledges as a duty of faith, but as it relates to the determination of the Church as a duty of charity, obliging to concur with the Church, where it determineth not the contrary, of that which the word of God determineth. Again, when I say the Church hath power to determine that which God's law determines not, I must needs be understood to mean that which shall seem to make most for the advancement of godliness. Now, the Scripture shows, by store of examples of ceremonies in the public service of God, under the Church as well as under the Synagogue, that the institution of significative ceremonies in the public worship of God, doth make for the advancement of godliness; otherwise, such had not been ordained by the apostles and governors of God's ancient people. For of this nature is the veiling of women at divine service, of which St. Paul writes to the Corinthians; the kiss of charity so often mentioned in the writings of the

apostles, which the Constitutions of the Apostles, (ii. 57) and Origen, upon the last to the Romans [x. § 33], show to have been practised before the consecration and the receiving of the Eucharist, to signify the charity in which they came to communicate; the many ceremonies of baptism to which St. Paul alludes in divers places, (Col. ii. 11, 12; iii. 9, 10; Rom. vi. 4, 5), to wit, putting off old clothes, drenching in water, so as to seem to be buried in it, putting on new clothes at their coming out; which being used in the primitive Church, by these passages of St. Paul, we are sure were instituted by the apostles. Of this nature are the gestures of prayer which we read in the Scriptures, that it was always the custom of God's people, to make, sitting, kneeling, or grovelling, as the inward dejection of the mind required a greater or less degree of outward humiliation of the body, to produce and maintain, as well as to signify it. Thus, our Lord stands up to read the law, but sits down to preach (Luke iv. 16, 20); the one, to show reverence to the giver of the law, the other, authority over the congregation which he taught as a prophet: and therefore, I make no doubt, but that in receiving the book of the law, he used that reverence which was, and is used in the Synagogue; the like whereof, by the acts of the primitive martyrs, we understand to have been used to the book of the Gospels; for, in the examination of one of them, you have, "Qui sunt libri quos adoratis legentes?" as we now stand up at the reading of the gospel. Of this nature are the ceremonies of the Jews' public fasts, quoted afore

out of the prophet Joel, which it seems, the prophet Jonas taught the Ninevites, at their fast, (Jon. iii. 5, 6); which, sure have no force to move God to compassion, but as they move men to that humiliation which procures it. Of this nature is imposition of hands, used in the Scripture in blessing, that is, in solemn prayers for other persons, as in the gospel over children and sick persons, as in the law, Jacob lays hands on Joseph's children, Moses on Joshua and the seventy presbyters, the prophets on such as they cured: (2 Kings v. 11): whereupon it was received, by the ordinance of the apostles, in confirmation, penance, and ordinations; as also it is said to be still used in some eastern Churches, at the blessing of marriages. In fine, the frontlets and the scrolls which God appoints the Jews to set upon their foreheads, and the posts of their doors, (Exod. xiii. 9; Deut. vi. 8: xi. 18), for my part, I make a great question, whether he obligeth them thereby, to use, according to the letter, as they do: but, that commanding the effect, the remembrance of the law, he should be thought to forbid the means, that is, the sensible wearing of such marks, that I count utterly incredible: seeing it was easy for them to use such marks, and yet, to think themselves never a whit the holier for them, without the thing signified; though in our Lord's time they did so, as we see by his reproofs in the gospel, and though by their writings, (Maimoni by name, in the title of Fringes, cap. iii. and in the title of Phylacteries, cap. xi. and xii.) we see, that still they do. And thus, upon the reasons advanced,

that is of determining that which the law of God determines not, follows the whole power of the Church, in deciding matters of doctrine, in determining the circumstances and ceremonies of God's public worship, and of all the ordinances of God for the maintenance and exercise of the same. For, in instituting ceremonies, significative not of Christ to come, (that indeed, and that only is Judaism), but of the faith and devotion which we desire to serve God with, it is enough that this power may be exercised to the advancement of godliness; if it be exercised otherwise than it ought, it is still to be obeyed, because the unity of the Church is of great consequence to maintain, though we attain not that advancement of godliness which the use of this power ought to procure, but does not: and, if any power should be void, because it is not used for the best, or absolutely not well used, then could no human society subsist, either sacred or civil: which must subsist in all things wherein it commands not the contrary, of a more ancient law, which is God's law in our case.

From the premises it will not be difficult to resolve, whether councils be of divine right or not, distinguishing between substance and circumstance, between the purpose and effect of them, and the manner of procuring it. For, if we speak of giving law to the society of the Church, it is proved that (whether you take it for a power or a duty, a right or a charge, or rather both, seeing the one cannot be parted from the other) the Church may, and ought, to proceed to determine, what is not determined,

but determinable, by consent of particular Churches, that is, by the consent of such persons which have power to conclude the consent of their respective Churches: whereof, we have showed, that none can ever be concluded without the consent of their respective bishops. But if we speak of the circumstance and manner of assembling, in one place, certain persons in behalf of their several Churches, with authority to prejudice, and foresway, and pre-engage, the consent of the same, we have a precedent, or rather precedents, without a precept, in the Acts of the Apostles, where the apostles are assembled to ordain a twelfth apostle (Acts i. 15); where they are assembled to institute the order of deacons (Acts vi. 2); where Paul and Barnabas come from Antiochia and the Churches depending thereupon, to the apostles and Church of Jerusalem, to take resolution in their differences (Acts xv. 1); where Paul goes in to James, to advise how to behave himself without offence to the Christian Jews at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 18.): (for, the premises being admitted, all these meetings are justly and necessarily counted synods or councils, both in regard of the persons whereof they consisted, the consent of divers apostles being of as much authority to the Church as the resolution of a synod, and in regard of the matter determined at them, concerning the whole Church in a high degree, especially at that time.) And we have a canon [37] among those of the apostles (which appears very ancient, by the canons of Nice [5] containing the same, and turning custom into statute law), commanding that synods be held in every province twice

a year. But when Tertullian tells us that in the parts of Greece they held councils ordinarily, he constrains us to believe, that in other parts of the Church they did not; and when we read of persecutions against the ordinary assemblies of the Church, we must presume, that as the persecution of councils would have made greater desolation in the Church, so must they needs be more subject to be persecuted.* And, by Eusebius, and the rest of the ecclesiastical histories, and by the communication of the primitive bishops—Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarpus, St. Cyprian, and the rest as they follow, still extant in their epistles—we understand that their personal assemblies were supplied by their Formatæ, or letters of mark; whereby the acts of some Churches, the most eminent, being approved by the rest, after they were sent to them, purchased the same force with the acts of councils. Wherefore, the holding of councils is of divine right, so far as it is manifest to common-sense, that it is a readier way to despatch matters determinable, though, when it cannot be had, not absolutely necessary. But it is always necessary, that, seeing no Church can be concluded without the bishop thereof, the bishops of all Churches concur to the acts that must oblige their Churches. Not so their presbyters, because it is manifest, that all presbyters cannot concur, though upon particular occasion some may, as the presbyters of the Church where a council is held, as at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 6), which we find, therefore, practised in divers councils of the Church;

[See the Appendix to this chapter.]

as to supply the place of their bishops, by deputation in their absence, or, perhaps, as to propound matters of extraordinary consequence. As for the whole people, to be concluded by the act of a council, as all cannot always be present, supposing the dependence of Churches, so nothing hinders any part thereof to intercede in any thing contrary to Christianity, that is, of the substance thereof, or of divine right; therefore, in the order of holding councils, which is wont to be put before the volumes of the councils, the people is allowed to be present, as they were at Jerusalem. (Acts xv. 12, 13, 22.)

I come now to a nice point, of the original right of the Church to tithes, first fruits, and oblations: for, as it cannot be pretended that the same measure which the law provideth is due under the gospel, so it is manifest that the quality of priests and Levites to whom they were due, is ceased as much as the sacrifices which they were to attend; and it is certain that they were maintained expressly in consideration of that attendance. This difficulty must be resolved by the difference between the law and the gospel. The law expressly provideth only for the ceremonial service of God in the temple, by sacrifices and figures of good things to come. But no man doubteth that there were always assemblies for the service of God all over the country; for the opportunity whereof, in time, synagogues were built, where the law was taught and public prayers offered to God. This office of teaching the law cannot be restrained to the tribe of Levi. So far as the prophets and their schools of

disciples furnished it not, their consistories, which had the authority to determine what was lawful, what unlawful, were consequently charged with this office. Now, they consisted, not only of the tribe of Levi, but, in the first place, of the best of their cities, to whom were added, as assistants, some of that tribe, (unless we speak of the priests' cities in particular, for, credibly, the consistories of them consisted only of priests), for that tribe being dispersed all over the land to gather their revenue, were by that means ready to attend on this office of assisting in judgment and teaching the law. So saith Josephus (Ant. iv. 8), that the consistories of particular cities consisted of seven chief of every city, assisted each with two of the tribe of Levi, which, with a president and his deputy or second (such as we know the high consistory of Jerusalem had), makes up the number of twenty-three, which the Talmud doctors say they consisted of. Therefore it is a mistake of them that think the Scribes and Pharisees, whom our Lord commands to obey, had usurped the office of the priests and Levites; for what hinders the priests and Levites to be Scribes and Pharisees themselves, though other Israelites were Scribes and Pharisees besides priests and Levites? Neither Pharisees, nor priests and Levites, had this authority as Pharisees, or as priests and Levites, but as members or assistants of the consistories. The reason, because God's law, whereby his worship was determined, was also the civil law of that people, because the land of Canaan was promised them upon condition of living according to it; there-

fore the teaching of the law must belong to them who, by the law, were to judge and govern the people, God stirring up prophets from time to time, to clear the true meaning thereof from human corruptions. So only the service of the temple, and only that tribe which attended on the service of the temple, was to be provided for; the rest being provided for by the possession of the Land of Promise. But when the service of God in spirit and truth was to be established in all places, as well as at Jerusalem, and the Church incorporated by God into one society and commonwealth for the exercise thereof, what endowment God appointed this corporation, for the exchequer of it, is best judged by what appears to have been done in the Scriptures, which cannot be attributed but to the authority of the apostles, the governors of the Church at that time. At Jerusalem, the contributions were so great in the beginning of Christianity, that many offered their whole estates to maintain the community of the Church. Was this to oblige all Christians, ever after, to destroy civil society by communion of goods? As if there could be no other reason why Christians should strip themselves of their estates at that time. The advancement of Christianity, then in the shell, required continual attendance of the whole Church upon the service of God. This withdrawing the greater part of disciples, which were poor, from the means of living, required greater oblations of the rich. The Scripture teaches us, that the whole Church continued in the service of God; so that out of the common stock of the Church,

common entertainment was provided for rich and poor, at which entertainment the sacrament of the Eucharist was celebrated, as it was instituted by our Lord at his last supper. This is that which is called "breaking of bread," (Acts ii. 42, 46; xx. 7), and by the apostle (1 Cor. xi. 20), "the supper of the Lord," not meaning thereby the sacrament of the Eucharist, but this common entertainment, at which that sacrament was celebrated, which therefore is truly called the "sacrament of the Lord's supper," not "the supper of the Lord;" for, you see, the apostle complains that because the rich and the poor supped not together, therefore they did not celebrate the supper of the Lord. The same thing it is which St. Jude (ver. 12) calls their "feasts of love." And the attendance upon this entertainment was the cause of making the deacons; which is called therefore, "the daily ministration," and "attendance at tables." (Acts vi. 1, 2.) Now will any man say, that those primitive Christians held not themselves tied to pay tithes, that offered all their estates? At Corinth, I believe St. Chrysostom, that this course was not frequented every day, as at Jerusalem, but probably the first day of the week, because upon that the disciples assembled at Troas (Acts xx. 7), or perhaps upon other occasions also; for to have done always everywhere as at Jerusalem would have destroyed civil society, which the gospel pretendeth to preserve. But those that offer the first-fruits of their goods to this purpose, when secular laws enable them not to endow the Church with their tithes, do they not acknowledge that duty,

and that, as taught by the apostles, so to acknowledge it? For can any living man imagine that they were weary of their estates, if the apostles, from whom they received their Christianity, had not informed them that Christianity required it at their hands? In the next place, let us consider the contributions which the Churches of the Gentiles were wont to send to the Christians at Jerusalem, being brought low by parting with their estates. It is to be understood, that the Jews, that lived out of their own country, dispersed in the Roman and Parthian empires, not being under the law of tithes, which was given to the Land of Promise, nor resorting to the temple, were, notwithstanding, in recompense of the same, wont to make a stock, out of which they sent their oblations from time to time, to maintain the service of God; as is to be seen up and down in Josephus, besides Philo and the Talmud doctors. If then the Churches of the Gentiles, in imitation hereof, contribute their oblations to support the Church of Jerusalem and the service of God there (being then the mother-city of Christianity, before it was settled in the capital cities of the Roman empire) as by all those passages appears, which mention the oblations of the Churches sent to Jerusalem, (Acts xi. 30; xii. 25; Rom. xv. 26; 2 Cor. viii. ix. per tot.; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; Gal. ii. 10), do they not thereby openly profess themselves taught by the apostles, that they were under the same obligation of maintaining the service of God in the Church, as the Jews in the Temple? Again, the apostle having showed that Christians have the same

right of communicating in the sacrifice of Christ crucified, as the Jews in the sacrifices that were not wholly consumed by fire, in the passage handled afore, of Heb. xiii. 8-14, pursues it thus in the next words: "By him then let us offer continually to God the sacrifice of praise, which is the fruit of the lips, giving thanks to his name: but to do good and communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." Where by the sacrifice of praise, he means the Eucharist, as it is called usually in the ancient liturgies and writings of the fathers: for, to this purpose is the whole dispute of that place, that, in that sacrament, Christians communicate in the sacrifice of Christ crucified, (which Jews can have no right to), instead of all the sacrifices of the Law. And therefore, by doing good and communicating, he means the oblations of the faithful, out of which at the beginning, the poor and the rich lived in common at the assemblies of the Church; and, when that course could no more stand with the succeeding state of the Church, both the Eucharist was celebrated, and the persons that attended on the service of God were maintained. Therefore this obligation ceaseth not, though the ceremonial law be taken away. The next argument is from the words of St. Paul, (Ephes. iv. 11), in which, few or none take notice of anything to this purpose; but to me, comparing them with the premises, it seemeth so express, that it were a wrong to the Church so much concerned in them to let them go any longer without notice. "He hath made (saith St. Paul) some apostles, some prophets, some evan-

gelists, some pastors, and doctors; for the compacting of the saints, for the work of ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ." That is, as it follows, "that being sincere in love, we may grow in all things in him who is the head, even Christ. From whom the whole body compacted and put together by the furnishing of every limb, according to the working proportionable in every part, causeth the body to wax unto the edification of itself in love." Here you are to mark these words, εἰς ἔργον διακονίας. For διακονεῖν and διακονία, in the New Testament, signifies, in a vulgar sense, to furnish any man maintenance; as Matt. xxv. 44; 2 Tim. i. 18; Heb. vi. 10; Luke viii. 3; 1 Pet. iv. 10. In another sense it is used to signify the service of God in publishing the gospel: but, almost always, with some addition discovering the metaphor, by expressing the subject of that service, to wit, "the word, the gospel, the spirit, the new covenant." (Acts vi. 4; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19; iii. 8.) In this sense it is commonly taken here, but it seems a mistake. For, when the apostle saith that God hath given his Church governors and teachers, "for the compacting of the saints, for the work of ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ," his meaning is, that the body of the Church is compacted and held together, to frequent public assemblies, by the contribution of the rich, to the maintenance of those that attend upon the service of God, (which is here called the work of ministry); to the end, that, by the doctrine of the governors and teachers of the Church, at the said assemblies, it may

be built up to a full measure of Christianity. This sense the words that follow require: "From whom the whole body compacted"—that is, that the body of the Church being enabled frequently to assemble by the operation of those that are able, furnishing every member proportionably to his want, cometh by Christ to perfection in Christianity. This sense, the parallel places of Rom. xii. 4, 7, 8; 1 Peter iv. 10, necessarily argue: where, having speech of those things which particular members of the Church are to contribute to the improvement of the whole, both apostles express two kinds of them; one spiritual, of instruction in Christianity; the other corporal, of means to support the Church in holding their assemblies. For, as those that want, cannot balk the necessities of this life, to attend upon divine service, unless they be furnished by the body of the Church, so, much more those that minister the service of the Church, cannot attend upon the same unless they be secured of their support. And for this cause, the first Christians at Jerusalem, and by their example, they that sent their oblations to the Church, laid them down at the apostles' feet, to signify, that they submitted them to their disposing: for this cause deacons were created, to execute their disposition of the same: for this cause the contributions of the Church of Antiochia, are consigned to the presbyters of Jerusalem, (Acts xi. 30), that they who were ordained by that time, (for, afore there is no mention of them), might dispose of them under the apostles: for this cause Timothy is directed how to bestow his stock

among the widows and presbyters, that the widows might attend upon prayer day and night, and upon other good works concerning the community of the Church, (1 Tim. v. 5, 10), as Anna the widow in the gospel (Luke ii. 36, 37), and as the good women that kept guard about the tabernacle, (Ex. xxxviii. 8; 1 Sam. ii. 22): and for this cause, St. Peter forbiddeth the presbyters to domineer over the clergy, (1 Pet. v. 3), to wit, in disposing of their maintenance out of this common stock of the Church. Here, it will be said, that all this expresses no quantity, or part of every man's estate, to ground a right of tithes, and, that no man desires better than to give what he list. And the answer is as ready, that no man desires more, provided he list to give what Christianity requires; and, that for the determination of what Christianity requires, he list to stand to the perpetual practice of the Church, when as, by those things which we find recorded in the Scriptures, it appears to be derived from the apostles themselves. First, it is not the law that first commanded to pay tithes: because we know they were paid by Abraham and Jacob, (they that think they were not due by right, before the law, because Jacob vows them, (Gen. xxviii. 20), do not remember our vow of baptisms, the subject whereof is things due before), and God requires them as his own before. For God saith, first, "that tithes are his own," (Levit. xxvii. 30), to wit, by a law in force before the law of Moses, and then gives them to the priests for their service in the tabernacle. Then, it cannot stand with Christianity,

which supposeth greater grace of God than the law, to allow a scarcer proportion to the maintenance of God's service than the law requires. Now, the law requires, first, two sorts of first-fruits, the one to be taken by the priest at the barn, (Num. xviii. 12), the other to be brought to the sanctuary, (Exod. xxii. 29; xxiii. 19; Deut. xxvi. 1), the quantity of either being in the moderate account, a fiftieth; as St. Hierom upon Ezek. xlv., agreeing with the Jews' constitutions in Maimoni, of "First-fruits," (cap. ii.), and of "Separations" (cap. iii.) determineth it, though the Scripture (Ezek. xlv. 13) require but the sixtieth. After that, a tithe of the remainder to the Levites; then, another tithe of the remainder to be spent in sacrificing at Jerusalem; that is, for the most part upon the priests and Levites, to whom, and to the poor, it wholly belonged every third year, (Deut. xiv. 22, 28; Ex. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 20.) Add hereunto the first-born, all sin-offerings, and the priests' part of peace-offerings, the skins of sacrifices, (which alone Philo makes a chief part of their revenue), all consecrations and the Levites' cities; and it will easily appear it could not be so little as a fifth part of the fruit of the land that came to their share. Now, that any rate should be determined by the gospel, agrees not with the difference between it and the law. This, constraining obedience by fear, commands, under penalty of vengeance from heaven, to pay so much: that, persuading men, first, freely to give themselves to God, cannot doubt, that they which do so, will freely part with their goods for

his service. And therefore, if the perpetual practice of Christians must limit the sense of those laws, which the Scripture limits not, we see the first Christians at Jerusalem far outdo anything that ever was done under the law, and we see that all Christian people, in all succeeding ages, have done what the Church now requires but to be continued.

To this original title, accrues another by consecration, which is an act of man, enforced by the law of God. There is in the law of Moses, one kind of ceremonial holiness proper to persons, consisting in a distance from things not really unclean, but as signs of real uncleanness. As from meats and drinks, and touching creatures, and men, and women in some diseases; of which our Lord hath said, that what goeth into the mouth polluteth not, much less what a man only toucheth; and so hath showed that all this ceaseth under the gospel. But there is another kind of holiness, belonging to times and places, as well as persons, commanded in the law, upon a reason common to the gospel, when it is said (Lev. xix. 30), "Observe my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuaries." For, did this belong only to the temple or tabernacle, instituted, by God's express command, for that ceremonial service of God, which was unlawful anywhere else, it might seem to be proper to the ceremonial law, and to vanish with the gospel; but the perpetual practice of that people shows, that hereby they are commanded to use reverence in their synagogues, which were neither instituted by any written precept of the law, nor for the ceremonial

service of God, which was confined to the temple, but for public assemblies, to hear the law read and expounded, and to offer the prayers of the people to God. For in the psalms of Asaph, which is the only mention of synagogues in the Old Testament, they are called not only houses and assemblies of God, but also sanctuaries, as here, Ps. lxxiii. 17 ; lxxiv. 3, 7, 8 ; lxxxiv. 10. And the Talmud doctors, related by Maimoni, extend this precept to them, showing at large the reverence which they required ; whereupon Philo, in his book " De Legatione ad Caium," calls them places of secondary holiness, to wit, in respect of the temple ; and in Maimoni, in the title of " Prayer and the Priest's Blessing," (cap. xi.) you have at large of the holiness of synagogues and schools, which they esteem more holy than synagogues. They may have joy of their doctrine, that endeavour to show, that the Jews' synagogues were not counted holy places, because in the gospels, as well as in Eusebius' histories (v. 16)—where he allegeth, out of a certain ancient writing against the Montanists, that none of them was ever scourged by the Jews in their synagogues,—and " Epiphanius against the Ebionites," [§ 11] it appears, that the Jews used to punish by scourging in their synagogues : for it hath taken so good effect, as to turn churches to stables. But he that understands their reason right, will infer the contradictory of their conclusion from it ; for, because synagogues were the places where matters of God's law were sentenced, as I showed afore, therefore was that sentence to be executed in

synagogues. The like reason there is for the holiness of persons consecrate to the service of God, in the like precept (Levit. xix. 32), "Stand up before the grey head: and reverence the presbyters: and fear thy God. I am the Lord." Where the gradation shows, that this text concerns not the fear of God, but the reverence due to their judges and doctors of the law. It is a vulgar mistake, that sovereign powers are called gods in the Scriptures. The Jews are in the right, that their judges, made by imposition of hands, are they whom the Scripture calls gods; for so it is used to signify those that were to judge God's people by God's law. (Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8, 9.) Neither doth it signify any but the consistory, (Ps. lxxxii. 1, 6), being, it seems, at that time, when this psalm was penned, for Absalom or for Saul, against David; for these are they "to whom the word of the Lord came," as our Saviour says (John x. 35), that is, whom the execution of the law was trusted with. Now, you have seen, that presbyters were a degree under judges, and therefore the gradation can hold only thus: first, "stand up before the grey hairs," that is, them who are only honourable for their age; secondly, "reverence presbyters," which, besides years, having studied the law till thirty or forty years of age, had authority to teach the law; and lastly, "fear your judges," who have power to sentence matters of difference. Thus the gradation continues in the same kind, and thus the precept is interpreted by the Talmud doctors, in Maimoni, in the title of "Learning the Law," (c. 6), and Moses of Kotzi, upon this pre-

cept. Having therefore showed, that the clergy in the Church succeed into the authority that the consistories bore under the Synagogue, it follows, that the precept of the apostles (1 Thess. v. 12, 13; Heb. xiii. 17) imports this reverence due to them, as persons consecrate to the service of God. And so this holiness is the same in persons, as in places consecrate to that purpose. There is no man so simple, as to think Churches capable of that holiness by which Christian souls are holy; but because the actions of God's service, proceeding from souls so qualified, are presumed to be holy; therefore the times, the places, the persons deputed to such actions in public, are to be reverenced in regard of that deputation, "for their works' sake," saith the apostle, in an ecclesiastical, not in any spiritual capacity, common to persons with times and places: because this qualification serves to maintain, in the minds of people, the reverence they owe to those acts of God's service, whereunto they are deputed; which those that never believed heretofore do now see, by that ruin of Christianity which these few years have brought to pass amongst us. This ground the Jews' doctors seem very well to understand, when they question, why the open street, or piazza, is not holy, seeing the public fasts of the Jews were many times held in them: these assemblies being, it seems, so great that the synagogue would not contain the people: (where, by the way, you see why our Lord reproves the Pharisees, because they loved to "pray standing in the corners of streets, and to sound a trumpet before their alms,"

(Matt. vi. 2, 5), because those fasts were solemnized in the street, with sound of trumpet); their answer is, that the market-place, or street, or piazza, is used accidentally to this purpose, but the synagogue is deputed expressly to it. (Maimoni, "Of prayer and the priest's blessing," cap. xi.) The reason then of this ecclesiastical or moral holiness, is the deputation to the holy ordinances of divine service, which deputation, if it be by ordinance of the apostles, solemnized upon persons, by prayer, with imposition of hands, why shall it not be solemnized by consecration of places, which is nothing else but the solemn deputation of them to their purpose, by prayer to God, as persons are consecrated when they are deputed to the service of God? And, is it not strange, that any man should find a negative reverence due to the places of God's service, but, all positive reverence nothing else than superstition revived. For, what reason can be given why men should abstain from light, or vain, or secular business, employment or carriage, in churches, but because the mind is to be possessed and exercised about the contrary? And what reverence and devotion to God, in the ordinances of his service, can be maintained without making difference between common and consecrate places, is not to be seen by the practice of this time, that hath laid all reverence and devotion aside, and therefore, it seems, will never be seen again, until that reverence be revived again, and sensibly expressed, to persons and places dedicated to God's service (for times deputed to God's service are not subject to sense,

therefore, not capable of the like), by such solemnities, as may be fit to maintain that inward devotion which the ordinances of God's service, to which they are deputed, are to be performed with. And not only times, places, and persons are capable of this moral quality, of relative ecclesiastical holiness, but whatsoever, either by disposition of God's law, or by man's act, is affected to the service of God. For so saith our Saviour, that "the temple consecrates the gold which it is adorned with, and the altar the gift that is offered upon it:" and that therefore, "he that sweareth by the temple, or the altar, sweareth by God, to whose service they were offered." (Matt. xxiii. 17, 19, 20.) And the Jews' *corban*, which our Lord reproveth, as used to bind that which was against God's law, (Matt. xv. 5), was nothing but an oath, by the oblations consecrated to the reparations of the temple, as you may see in Grotius. And, as first-fruits and tithes which the law consecrates to God, render him sacrilegious and accursed that touches them against the intent of the law, as you see by that allegory of the prophet (Jer. ii. 3), "Israel is a thing consecrate to the Lord, the first-fruit of his revenue: all that devour him are guilty, evil haunts them." So the law, in obliging men to consecrate what they would to the Lord, makes the consecrate thing anathema, that is, the person accursed, that applies it to any other use. (Levit. xxvii. 28.) Under the gospel the difference is only this, that nothing is consecrate, by disposition of the law, without the act of man, moved by the law of Christianity to

consecrate it: according to that difference between the law and the gospel, alleged before, that because the law constraineth to obedience for fear of mischief, the gospel winneth obedience by love of goodness; therefore, in correspondence thereunto, the law was to require the maintenance of God's service, under such penalties as they should not dare to incur; the gospel, by the same freedom of mind, which constrained men to give themselves to God, was to constrain them to give their goods to the maintenance of his service. For the rest, as under the law, the gold is consecrated by the temple, and the sacrifice by the altar; and so all consecration tended to communion with God, by the participation of sacrifices offered to God. So, having shewed how the gospel ordaineth, that Christians also communicate with God in the sacrifice of the cross, by the sacrament of the Eucharist; by the same reason it follows, that what is given to build and repair and beautify churches, to maintain the assemblies of the Church, to support them that minister God's ordinances, to enable the poor to attend upon the communion of the same, is consecrated by the altar of the cross, and the sacrifice thereof, represented in the Eucharist, being the chief part of that service which the Church tenders to God, and that which is peculiar to Christianity. St. Chrysostome truly construes the reason why our Lord would not have Mary Magdalen reproved, for pouring out such an expense on his body to no purpose, which might have done so much good among the poor, (Matt. xxvi. 11), to be this, that Christians

might understand themselves to be bound, as well to maintain the means of God's service, as the poor that attend upon it.* And let any man shew me the difference of the sin of Achan, from that of Ananias and Sapphira. For, as he became accursed by touching that which was deputed to God's service, and was so, before he denied it: so, no man can imagine that these had been guiltless, if they had confessed; for they are charged by the apostle, not only for lying the Holy Ghost, but for withdrawing part of the price. (Acts v. 3.) And therefore, by the premises, having shewed that the goods which were laid down at the apostle's feet, were thereby affected, applied, and deputed to maintain the body of the Church, in the daily communion of the service of God, especially of the Eucharist, which they frequented, (Acts ii. 42, 46), it followeth, that they were consecrated to God by the altar, as all oblations of Christians to the maintenance of God's service, are, by the sacrifice of the cross, represented and commemorated in the sacrament of the Eucharist, being the chief part of the service of God under the gospel, and that which is only proper to Christians. And, by consequence, that which is consecrate to the service of God, under the gospel, is anathema, for the same reason as under the law, because they are accursed that take upon them to apply it to any other use.

These things premised, it will not be difficult to determine the limits of sovereign and ecclesiastical power, in the conduct and establishment of matters

* [See Bishop Andrew's noble sermon on this subject.]

of religion in a Christian state; which, seeing it chiefly consists in the right of giving those laws by which this establishment and conduct is executed, and having showed that the right of sovereign power, in Church matters, is not destructive, but cumulative to the power of the Church, and that there is an original right in the Church of giving laws, as to the society of the Church: it follows, that the right of making those laws, whereby religion is established in a Christian state, belonging both to the sovereign power and to the Church, are not distinguishable by the subject (for I have premised that sovereign powers may make laws of Church matters), but by the several reasons, and grounds, and intents of both. That is to say; that the determining of the matter of ecclesiastical laws, in order to the sentence of excommunication, which the Church is able to enforce them with, belongs to the Church, that is, to those whom we have showed to have that power on behalf of the Church: but the enacting of them as laws of civil societies, in order to those privileges and penalties which states are able to enforce religion with, belongs to the sovereign powers that give law to those states. For here it is to be known, that any religion is made the religion of any state by two manner of means, that is, of temporal privileges and temporal penalties; for how much toleration soever is allowed several religions in any state, none of them can be counted the religion of the state, till it be so privileged as no other can be privileged in that state, though it becomes the religion of that state still more manifestly when penalties are established, either upon

the not exercise of the religion established, or upon the exercise of any other besides it. Those of the Congregations seem indeed hitherto to maintain, that no penalty can be inflicted by any state, upon any cause of religion; to which point I will answer by and bye: which, if it were so, then could no religion be the religion of any state, but by temporal privileges. In the meantime, having determined that, by the word of God, Christianity is to be maintained by secular power, and seeing it cannot be engrafted into any state, but by making the laws thereof the laws of that state, in this doing, my conclusion is, that the matter of ecclesiastical laws is determinable by the Church; the force of them, as to such means as the state is able to enact them with, must come from the state. The reason is, first, from that of the apostle, pronounced by him in one particular case, but which may be generalized to this purpose (1 Cor. vii. 20, 24): "Every one, in what state he is called to be a Christian, therein let him continue;" which, if it hold, neither can any quality in any civil society give any man that right which ariseth from the constitution of the Church, nor on the contrary. Wherefore, seeing it is manifest, that there is in the Church a power of giving laws to every respective part of it, as it is granted that there is in all sovereign powers, in respect of all persons and causes, it follows, that they are distinguishable by the several reasons on which they stand and arise, and the several intents to which they operate, and the effects they are able to produce. Secondly, no religion but Judaism was

ever given immediately by God to any state, and that by such laws as determine both the exercise of religion, and the civil government of that people. But all nations think they have received religion from some divinity which they believe; and therefore by the law of nations, the ordering of matters of religion must needs belong to those by whom, and from whom, several nations believe they have received it. Much more, Christianity, received from and by our Lord and his apostles, must needs be referred to the conduct of those whom we have showed they left trusted with it. But the power to dispose of the exercise of religion, is a point of sovereignty used by all states according to several laws; wherefore Christianity much more obliging all sovereigns to use this power to the advancement of it, the coactive power of secular societies must needs take place much more in establishing Christianity, by such constitutions as Christianity may be established with. Thirdly, the whole Church is, by divine right, one visible society, though to an invisible purpose, and the power of giving laws, either to the whole or to several parts of it, of divine right. But neither the whole, nor the parts of it, are necessarily convertible with any one state, and yet the Church under several states, many times in extreme need of the use of that power which God hath given his Church, to determine matters determinable; therefore this power cannot be vested in any of the states under which the Church is concerned, but in those that have power in behalf of the Churches respectively concerned. The fourth

argument is very copious, from the exercise of this power in the religion instituted by God among his ancient people, of which nature there is nothing in the New Testament, because, in the times whereof it speaks, sovereign powers were not Christian. I have showed in divers places of this discourse, that the high-consistory of the Jews at Jerusalem had power to determine all questions that became determinable in the matter of laws given by God. And yet there is great appearance, that this consistory itself was not constantly settled there according to law, till Josaphat's time, at least not the inferior consistories appointed by the law of Deut. xvi. 18, as the chief, by the law of Deut. xvii. 8, to be settled in the several cities. For, if so, why should the judges and Samuel ride circuit up and down the country, to minister justice according to the law, as we read they did then, (Judg. v. 10; x. 4; xii. 14; 1 Sam. vii. 16), but not after Josaphat's time. And for this reason, it seems, Josaphat himself, being to put this law in force, first, "sent judges up and down the cities," (2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9), and afterwards settled them according to the law "in the cities of Judah as well as at Jerusalem." (2 Chron. xix. 5, 8.) Besides, Josephus, in express terms, rendering a reason of the disorder upon which the war against Benjamin followed, attributes it to this, that the consistories were not established according to law. (Antiq. v. 2.) And again, (Antiq. v. 5), he gives this for the cause why Eglon undertook to subdue the Israelites, that they were in disorder, and the laws were not put in use.

And therefore it is justly to be presumed, that the exact practice of this law, on which that of all the rest depended, took not place till Josaphat applied the coactive power then in his hands, to bring to effect that which God had established in point of divine right. The consistory, then, by the law, is commanded to judge the people: that is, the sovereign power of the people is commanded to establish the consistory. Josaphat finds this command to take hold upon him, as having the power of that people in his hands. So again, God had commanded that idolators should be put to death, and their cities destroyed; the consistory enquiring, and sentencing, as appears by the Jews' constitutions in Maimoni, "Of Idolatry," cap. iv.; Deut. xiii. 2, 13, 14. But suppose the disease grown too strong for the cure, (as we must needs suppose the consistory unable to destroy an idolatrous city, when most cities do the like; or to take away high places when the land is overrun with them), then must the coactive powers of the secular arm either restore the law, or be branded to posterity for not doing it, as you see the kings of God's people are. The precept of building the temple was given to the body of the people, therefore, it takes hold upon David, and the powers under him, "his princes, his officers, and commanders." (1 Chron. xiii. 2; xxviii. 1.) In fine, the consistory, by the law, was to determine matters undetermined in the law, whether in general by giving laws in questionable cases, or in particular, by sentencing causes: but, if the people slide back, and cast away the yoke of the law, none but the so-

vereign power can reduce them under the covenant of the law to which they are born. Therefore, that covenant is renewed by Asa, by Hezekiah, by Josias, by none but the king, as first it was established by Moses, "King in Jesurun." (Deut. xxix. 1; xxxiii. 5; 2 Chron. xv. 12, 14; xxix. 10; xxxiv. 31.) And it is a very gross mistake to imagine, that the people renewed it, or any part of it, without the consent of the sovereign, under Esdras and Nehemias. (Esd. x. 1; Neh. x. 29; v. 12.) For, Esdras having obtained that commission, which we see, (Esd. vii. 11), may well be thought thereby established in the quality of head of the consistory, by the sovereign power, as the Jews all report him: but howsoever, by that commission, we cannot doubt that he was enabled to swear them to the law, by which he was enabled to govern them in it, his commission supposing a grant of full leave, to live according to their law. But in Nehemias, we must acknowledge a further power, of governor under the king of Persia, as he calls himself expressly, (Neh. v. 14, 15); which quality seems to me answerable to that of the heads of the captive Jews in Babylonia; of whom we read divers times in Josephus, as well as in the Jews' writings, that they were heads of their nation in that country, having heads of their consistories under them, at the same time as Esdras under Nehemias. The proceedings then of Esdras and Nehemias, as well as of the kings of Judah, prove no more than that which I said in the beginning of this chapter, that sovereign powers have right to establish and restore all matters of religion,

which can appear to be commanded by God. For, it is not in any common reason to imagine, that by any covenant of the law, renewed by Esdras and Nehemias, they conceived themselves enabled, or obliged to maintain themselves by force, in the profession and exercise of their religion, against their sovereign, in case he had not allowed it them: therefore, of necessity, that which they did, was by power derived by commission from the kings of Persia, (and so with reservation of their obedience to them), who, granting Nehemias and Esdras power to govern the people in their religion, must needs be understood to grant them both the free profession and exercise of the same. But, having shewed that the Church hath power, by divine right, to establish, by a general act, which you may call a canon, constitution, or law, all that God's law determineth not, mediately, and by consequence, I conceive it remains proved by these particulars done under the Old Testament, that the Church is to determine, but the determinations of the Church to be maintained by the coactive power of the secular arm, seeing they cannot come to effect, in any Christian state, otherwise. Which also is immediately proved, by some acts recorded in Scripture, whereby that is limited, which God's law had not determined. It is said, (1 Chron. xxv. 1), "That David, and the captains of the militia, divided the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun to the service of God." Here it were an inconvenience to imagine, that commanders of war should meddle with ordering the tribe of Levi, and the service of the temple. It is not so: we are

to understand there, by the militia, the companies of priests that waited on the service of the temple, the captains of whom, with David, divided the singers, as they did the priests. (1 Chron. xxiv. 3, 6, 7.) Though elsewhere, (1 Chron. xxiii. 6), David alone is mentioned to do it, as, by whose power, a business concerning the state of a tribe in Israel, was put in effect and force. So, Hezekias and his princes, and all the Synagogue, advised about holding the passover in the second month, (2 Chron. xxx. 2); that is, he advised with the consistory, who are there, as in Jeremias xxvi. 10, 11, called the princes; for so the Jews' constitutions in Maimoni, in the title of "Coming into the Sanctuary," (cap. iv.) teach us to understand it. So, David and his princes, gave the Gibeonites "to wait upon the Levites," whereupon they are called Nethinim, that is, *Given;* (Esdras viii. 20); where, by David and the princes, we must understand, by the same reason, David and the great consistory of his time. So also Maimoni, in the title "Erubin," *sub init.*,—or rather the Talmud doctors, whose credit he followeth,—tells us that Solomon and his consistory brought that constitution into practice, concerning what rooms meats may be removed into upon the sabbath. Herewith agrees the practice of Christian emperors, if we consider the style and character of some of their laws, in the codes by which the rest may be estimated; seeing it is not possible to consider all in this abridgment. There you shall find a law by which the canons of the Church are enforced, and the governors of provinces tied to observe and

execute them, long before the code of canons was made by Justinian a law of the empire. There you shall find the audiences of bishops established, and the sentences of them enforced by the secular arm, the authority of them having been in force, in the society of the Church, from the beginning, as hath been said. There you shall find laws, by which men are judged heretics and schismatics, as they acknowledged the faith determined by such and such councils, or not; as they communicated with such and such bishops, or not; which, what is it, but to take the act of the Church for a law, and to give force to it by the secular arms? Which, what prejudice can it import to any Christian state upon the face of the earth? For first, such assemblies of the Church, at which public matters are determinable, cannot meet but by allowance of the state. In particular, though the Church hath right to assemble councils, when that appears the best course for deciding matters in difference, yet it cannot be said that the Church was ever able to assemble a council without the command of Christian princes, after the example of Constantine the Great. And this is the state of religion, for the present, in Christendom. The power of determining matters of religion rests, as it always did, in the respective Churches to be tied by those determinations; but the power to assemble, in freedom, those judgments which may be capable to conclude the Church, must rest in the free agreement of the sovereignties in Christendom. Secondly, it hath been cautioned afore, that all sovereign powers have

right to see, not only that nothing be done in prejudice to their estates, but also in prejudice to that which is necessary to the salvation of all Christians, or that which was from the beginning established in the Church by our Lord and his apostles. Therefore, when councils are assembled, neither can they proceed nor conclude, so as to oblige the secular powers, either of Christendom or of their respective sovereignties, but by satisfying them, that the determinations which they desire to bring to effect, are most agreeable to that which is determined by divine right as well as to the peace of the state. And so the objection ceases, that by making the Church independent upon the state, as to the matter of their laws and determinations, we make two heads in one body. For seeing there is, by this determination, no manner of coactive power in the Church, but all in the state, (for excommunication constrains but upon supposition that a man resolves to be a Christian), there remains but one head in the civil society of every state, so absolute over the persons that make the Church, that the independent power thereof, in Church matters, will enable it to do nothing against, but suffer all things from the sovereign. And yet so absolute, and depending on God alone, in Church matters, that if a sovereign professing Christianity, should not only forbid the profession of that faith, or the exercise of those ordinances which God hath required to be served with; but even the exercise of that ecclesiastical power which shall be necessary to preserve the unity of the Church, it must

needs be necessary for those that are trusted with the power of the Church, not only to disobey the commands of the sovereign, but to use that power which their quality in the society of the Church gives them, to provide for the subsistence thereof, without the assistance of secular powers;—a thing manifestly supposed by all the bishops of the ancient Church, in all those actions wherein they refused to obey their emperors seduced by heretics, and to suffer their Churches to be regulated by them, to the prejudice of Christianity; particularly in that memorable refusal of Athanasius of Alexandria, and Alexander of Constantinople, to admit the heretic Arius to communion, at the instant command of Constantine the Great: which most Christian action whosoever justifies not, besides the appearance of favour to such an heresy, he will lay the Church open to the same ruin, whensoever the sovereign power is seduced by the like. And, such a difference falling out, so that to particular persons it cannot be clear who is in the right, it will be requisite for Christians in a doubtful case, at their utmost perils, to adhere to the guides of the Church against their lawful sovereigns, though to no further effect, than to suffer for the exercise of Christianity, and the maintenance of the society of the Church in unity.

Now, what strength and force the exercise of the keys, which is the jurisdiction of the Church, necessarily requires from the secular arm, may appear, in that this power hath been, and may be enforced by sovereigns of contrary religions. The first mention of

excommunication among the Jews, is, as you have seen, under Esdras, who proceeded by commission from the king of Persia. In the title of both codes of Justinian and Theodosius, *De Judæis et Cœlicolis*, you have a law of the Christian emperors, whereby the excommunications of the Jews are enacted and enforced, by forbidding inferior powers to make them void. And thus was the sentence of the Church against Paulus Samosatenus, ratified by the heathen emperor Aurelian, as you may see in Eusebius's Histories. (vii. 30.) For, though the matter thereof were not evident to him that was no Christian, yet the authority might be, the support whereof concerned the peace of the empire; and so it was evident in that case: for there being a difference in the Church of Antiochia, between the bishop and some of the clergy and people, and the synod there assembled having condemned and deposed the bishop, if this deposition were allowed by the synod of the Church of Rome, no man will deny that there was thereby sufficient ground for him that was no Christian to proceed and take away possession of the church and bishop's house from him that by such authority was deposed: and thus you see how true it is which I said, that in Christian states the power of the Church cannot be in force, without the sovereign, because excommunication, which is the sword thereof, and the last execution of this spiritual jurisdiction, might be made void otherwise. As for the prejudice which may come to a Christian state, by a jurisdiction, not depending upon it in point of right, but only in point of fact, there seem

to be two considerable difficulties made. The first, the excommunication of the sovereign; or more generally thus, that the keys of the Church may then interpose in state matters: The second, in regard that I have shewed, that by the words of our Lord, this power may take place in matters of interest between party and party. For if in any, why not in all? And if in all, where shall the secular power become, that power that is able to judge all causes, being able to govern any state? To the first, the answer is evident, that, so far as excommunication concerns barely the society of the Church, any person, capable of sovereign power, is liable to it, upon the same terms as other Christians are, because, coming into the communion of the Church upon the same condition as other Christians, the failing of this condition must needs render the effect void. But if we consider either the temporal force by which it comes to effect, or the temporal penalties which attend on it; to these, which cannot proceed but by the will of the sovereign, it is not possible that he should be liable. Thus I had rather distinguish, than between the greater excommunication and the less, as some do, who conclude, that the sovereign cannot be subject to the greater, but to the less. For there is indeed but one excommunication, as there is but one communion; abstinence from the Eucharist being no permanent, but a transient estate; under which whosoever comes, if he give not satisfaction to the Church, becomes contumacious, and, so liable to the last sentence. Let no man marvel at the good emperor

Theodosius, giving satisfaction of his penitence to the holy bishop, St. Ambrose. The reason was, because Christianity, then fresh from the apostles, was understood, and uncorrupt. It was understood that he held not his empire by being of the Church, nor, that his subjects owed him any less obedience for not being of it. He that taught him to be subject to God, taught his people also, to be subject to him for God's sake, as Christians always were to heathen emperors, even persecutors. Which, if it were received, it is not imaginable, that the powers of the world could be prejudiced by any censure of the Church. As for the objection, that excommunicate persons are not to be conversed with; by St. Paul's rule, it is answered by all divines, that it ceases in such relations (for example, of parents and children) as are more ancient than the society of the Church, which it therefore presupposeth; and so is to cease, in things necessary to civil society, which Christianity, as it presupposeth, so it enforceth, and not overthroweth. In like manner, it is to be said, that all proceedings, either of the popes, or of the Scottish Presbyteries, in those cases which "the burthen of Issachar" mentions, are the productions of the corruption, or misunderstanding of Christianity. For, as Aristotle says, that some things, *εὐθὺς ὠνόμασται συνειλημμένα μετὰ φαυλότητος*, [Ethics, ii. 6] so must we say, that those things only exclude from the Church, which, by the very nature and essence of them, are inconsistent with Christianity, being those things which a Christian renounces when he is admitted into the Church. Now

the affairs of states, such as are treaties and alliances with foreign states, reason of government at home, in jurisdiction, giving laws, and commands of state, are such things as are not necessarily bad or good, but may be the subject either of virtue or vice; much less, can it be manifest, not only to the body of Christians, but even to the guides of the Church, when governors forsake, and when they cleave to their Christianity, though it is certain that they do either the one or the other always. Wherefore, for particular actions of the same kind with those, for which private persons are liable, when they become notorious, princes also, and public persons, are subject to the censure of the Church. But for public government, the reason whereof must not be known, the kind thereof in the whole extent being capable of good as well as bad; it is nothing but the misunderstanding and corruption of Christianity that engages the Church in them, by the fault of those, that by their quality in the Church, seek to themselves some interest in public affairs, which Christianity generally denies to be due. And the same is to be said of them that make public affairs the subject of their prayers and preaching. Which, though it may be done to good purpose, and in opposition to worse, yet, seeing Christianity requires, not only that it may be so in the Church, but also that it may not be otherwise, as it must needs proceed from a decay of Christianity, so it must needs tend to the utter ruin of it. As for the drawing of civil causes, to the cognizance of ecclesiastical judicatories, by some things

that have been said, or done, to the advancement of the Presbyteries in Scotland, or here, it appears there is cause of scruple: but it is because the reason is overseen, upon which our Lord's saying proceeds. For, if the reason why our Lord will have the differences of Christians ended within the Church, is, that those that are without, may not take notice of the offences that are among Christians, this will not hinder Christians to plead before Christians, and therefore, will hinder no jurisdiction of civil states, as ceasing so far as the state becomes Christian. Wherefore, it is not without cause, that the audiences of bishops have been, by the laws of the empire, and other Christian states succeeding the same, limited to such kinds of causes, as seemed to stand most upon consideration of charity, and, so, fittest to be sentenced by the Church. But matrimonial causes seem to me necessarily to belong to this cognizance; because of that particular disposition, which our Lord, in his gospel, hath left concerning marriage. For if this be peculiar to Christians, as Christians, then, whatsoever becomes questionable, upon the interpretation of this law, concerning the Church, as it is the Church, must needs fall under the sentence of those that are enabled to conclude the society of the Church. And therefore it is, without question, as ancient as Christianity, that no marriage be made which the Church alloweth not, the benediction whereof upon marriages, is a sign of the allowance of the Church presupposed: as that upon the marriage of Boaz and Ruth, (Ruth iv. 11), pre-supposeth the

act to be allowed by the elders or consistory of Bethlehem, as you have it afore. These difficulties thus voided, it remains, that the secular powers stand bound in conscience to enforce the jurisdiction of the Church, where the exercise of it produceth nothing contrary to the principles of Christianity, or the quiet of the state.

As for the interest of the state in ordinations, the same reason holds. It is very manifest, by many examples of commendable times under Christian emperors, that many ordinations have been made at the instance and command of emperors and sovereign princes. And why not? What hindereth them to make choice of fitter persons than the clergy and people can agree to choose; and what hindereth the Church, upon consideration of their choice, to reform their own. But where sovereign powers, by general laws, forbid ordinations to proceed but upon persons nominated by themselves, how then shall the right of the Church take place? or what shall be the effect of St. Paul's precept to Timothy, "To lay hands hastily on no man, lest he partake of other men's sins"? which cannot take place, unless he that ordains be free not to ordain. The president Thuanus, writing of the concordats between Leo the Tenth and Francis the First (by which the canonical way of election of bishops was abolished in France), saith freely, that that great prince never prospered after that act; giving this for his reason, because thereby that course of electing bishops was taken way, which had been introduced from the beginning by the apostles. In

fine, of this particular I shall need to say no more but this, according to the general reason premised, that qualities ordained by the constitution of the Church, are to be conferred by persons qualified so to do by the constitution of the Church, but with this moderation, that secular powers be satisfied, not only that the persons promoted be not prejudicial to the peace of the state, whereof they have charge by their proper qualities, but also, that as Christians, they be not assistant to the promotion of those who profess the contrary of that which they, as Christians professing, are bound to maintain.

In the last place, it will not be difficult, from the premises, to determine the interest of the state, in settling, maintaining, and disposing of the endowment of the Church. For seeing the reasons premised (which now are laughed at by those that will not understand wherein Christianity consists) have prevailed so far with all Christian people, that all tithes and many other oblations and endowments, are, and have been, in all parts consecrated to God, as the first fruits of Christians' goods, for the maintenance of his service, it remains the duty of the secular sword to maintain the Church in that right. For that public power that shall lay hands on such goods, shall rob both God and the people: God, in respect of the act of consecration passed upon such goods; the people, in respect of the original right and reason of the Church, which first moved Christians to consecrate the same; by virtue of which right, that which first was consecrated being taken away by force,

Christian people remain no less obliged to separate from the remainder of their property, that which shall be proportionable to that which all Christian people have always consecrated to God out of their estates. And those that persuade good Christians, that such consecrations have proceeded only from cozenage of the clergy for their own advantage, may as well persuade them, that they were cozened when they were persuaded to be Christians, seeing such consecrations have been made by all Christian people. As for the disposing of that which is given to the public use of the Church, I say not the same. I hold it necessary, that the Church satisfy the state that whatsoever is given to such use may be to the common good of the people, and so leave the imperfection of laws to blame that it is not. A thing which I think may very reasonably be done. For first, all cathedral Churches being, by the institution of the apostle, entire bodies in themselves, distinct from other Churches, according to that which hath been proved of the dependence of Churches, all oblations to any Church, originally belong to the body thereof in common, at the disposing of the bishop and presbyters thereof, which is known to have been the primitive order of the Church derived from the practice of the apostles, which I have declared out of the Scriptures. Though they have complied with the bounty of those that have endowed parish churches, and consented to limit the endowments of every one of them to itself alone. Secondly, it is manifest, that the clergy are under such a discipline of the primitive Church, that, so

long as they continue to live in such a discipline, they can neither waste the endowment of the Church upon themselves, nor use it to the advancement of their families: which discipline, if the secular power be employed to retrieve, it will not be thereby destructive to the power of the Church, but cumulative. As likewise if it be employed to the most advantageous distribution of that mass of Church goods which lies affected and deputed to any cathedral Church, through the whole diocese thereof, in case the distribution made by human right appear prejudicial to those charitable purposes, which are the means by which the service of God through that Church or diocese is maintained and advanced. Provided always, that a greater sacrilege be not committed by robbing the bishop and presbyters of the right and power, which they have from the apostles, in disposing of the endowment of their Church. These things premised, it is easy to undertake, that there never was so great a part of the fruits of this land, mortified and put out of commerce, and applied and affected to the Church, but that it was in that estate more advantageous to the public strength, security, and plenty of the nation, as well as to the service of God, and the charitable maintenance of those that attend it, in case the secular power had been improved to dispose of it for the best, than it can be in any particular hands, especially in the hands of sacrilege.

CHAPTER V.

HOW THE CHURCH MAY BE REFORMED WITHOUT VIOLATING DIVINE RIGHT.—WHAT PRIVILEGES AND PENALTIES A CHRISTIAN STATE MAY ENFORCE CHRISTIANITY WITH.—THE CONSENT OF THE CHURCH IS THE ONLY MARK TO DISCERN WHAT IS THE SUBJECT OF REFORMATION, AND WHAT NOT.—ALL WAR MADE UPON THE TITLE OF CHRISTIANITY IS UNJUST AND DESTRUCTIVE TO IT; THEREFORE RELIGION CANNOT BE REFORMED BY FORCE.—OF THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG US, AND THE MEANS THAT IS LEFT US TO RECOVER THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

THAT which hath been said, as it concerns the present case of this Church, seems to be liable to one main objection, which is this: that if the power of bishops and presbyters be such as hath been said, by Divine right, that nothing can be done without them in their respective Churches, it will follow, that, in case the state of the Church be corrupt, by process of time, and their default especially, so that the common good of the Church require reformation, by changing of laws in force, if they consent not, it cannot be brought to pass without breach of Divine right. This may well seem to be the false light, that hath misguided well-affected persons to seek the reformation presently pretended. For seeing it is agreed upon among us, that there was a time and a state of the Church which required reformation, and that if the clergy of that time had been supported in that power, which, by the premises, is challenged on behalf

of the clergy, this reformation could not have been brought to pass: it seems, therefore, to the most part of men, that distinguish not between causes and pretences, that where reformation is pretended, there the power lawfully in force to the society of the Church ought to cease, that the reformation may proceed, either by secular power, or, if that consent not, by force of the people. To strengthen this objection, as to the reformation of this Church, it may further be said, that, though it is true that the order of bishops hath been propagated in this Church, at and since the Reformation, by ordinations made according to the form of that apostolical canon, "that a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops;" yet, if we judge of the original intent of that canon, by the general practice of the Church, it will appear, that it is but the abridgment of the fourth canon of the council of Nice, which requireth, that all bishops be ordained by a council of the bishops of the province: which, because it cannot always be had, therefore it is provided, that two or three may do the work, the rest consenting, and authorising the proceeding. A thing which seems necessarily true, by that which hath been said, of the dependence of Churches consisting in this, that the act of part of the Church obliges the whole, because that part which it concerns, and the unity of the whole which it produceth, stands first obliged by it, being done according to the laws of the whole. By which reason, the act of ordination of a bishop, obliges the whole Church to take him for a bishop, because the mother Church to

which he belongs, and the rest of cathedral churches under the same, do acknowledge it. And this is that which the ordinance of the apostles hath provided, to keep the visible communion of the whole Church in unity. To which it is requisite, that a Christian communicate with the whole Church, as a Christian; a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, as such; but when among the bishops of any province, part consent to ordinations, part not, the unity of the Church cannot be preserved, unless the consent of the whole follow the consent of the greater part. And therefore, though the canon of Nice be no part of Divine right, yet seeing the precept of the unity of the Church (being the end which all the positive laws of Church government aim at) obligeth before any positive precepts of the government thereof, which we see are many ways dispensed with for preservation thereof, and that it appears to be the general custom of the primitive Church, to make ordinations at those provincial councils, which, by another apostolical canon (38), were to be held twice a year, it seemeth, that there can no valid ordination be made, where the greater number of the bishop of the province dissent. Which is confirmed by the ordination of Novatianus for bishop of Rome, which, though done by three bishops (as the letter of Cornelius to the eastern bishops, recorded by Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vi. 43), testifieth), yet was the foundation of that great schism, because Cornelius was ordained on the other side by sixteen, as we read in St. Cyprian. [Ep. lii.] Now it is manifest, that the ordinations by which that order is

propagated in England, at and since the reformation, were not made by consent of the greater part of the bishops of each province, but against their mind, though they made no contrary ordinations. And by the same means it is manifest, that all those ecclesiastical laws, by which the Reformation was established in England, were not made by a consent capable to oblige the Church, if we set aside the secular power, that gave force unto that which was done, contrary to that rule wherein the unity of the Church consisteth. But in other parts, the reformation established was so far from being done by bishops and presbyters, or any consent able to conclude the Church, by the constitution of the Church, that the very order of bishops is laid aside and forgot, if not worse, that is, detested among them. Upon which precedent it sounds plausibly with the greatest part among us, that the unity of the whole being dissolved by the Reformation, the unity of the Reformation cannot be preserved, but by dissolving the order of bishops among us.

Before I come to resolve this difficulty, it will be requisite to examine, what privileges and penalties the secular power is enabled to enforce religion within a Christian state: because it hath been part of the dispute of this time, that some privileges of the Church are contrary to Christianity, as also some penalties upon matter of conscience: and the resolution of it will make way to my answer. Now the resolution hereof must come from the ground laid from the beginning of this discourse, that Christianity

importeth no temporal privilege or advantage of this present world; and therefore, that Christianity enableth no man to advance and propagate his Christianity by force. For, as it is contrary to the nature thereof to be forced, seeing the service of God which it requireth is not performed by any man that is not willing to do it, nor the faith believed but by them that are willing to believe it; so, seeing it gives no man any privilege of this world, which he cannot challenge by a lawful title of human right, and that no title of human right can enable any man to impose upon another that faith which human reason reveals not, therefore can no human power force any man to be a Christian, by the utmost penalty of death: which is that which force endeth in, to them that submit not. It is true, the law of Moses imposeth death for a penalty in two cases of religion; the first of idolaters, the second of those that disobey the consistory. But it is to be considered, that idolatry is a sin which the light of nature convinceth, and is always attended with the consequences of such horrible sins, as the apostle declareth, that God suffered the Gentiles to fall into for their idolatries, in the beginning of the epistle to the Romans. Besides, that penalty, by the law, lies but in respect of the seven nations, whom God (for their idolatries, and the consequences thereof, such as I have mentioned), gave up to destruction by the sword of his people, on whom he bestowed their inheritance: and in respect of Israelites, whom God having entered into covenant with, on condition to serve him alone, had thereupon endowed with secular

power, to punish the transgressors of it. So that the power of inflicting death in these cases, proceedeth upon the sentence of destruction and death, pronounced by God against the seven nations, and committed to the execution of his people; and, upon the sovereign power estated upon the people, by virtue of their covenant with God; which, though more than human for the original, yet must needs be available, according to human right, to the same effect which the same power established by title of human right, is able to produce. And therefore, this penalty, by these laws, cannot belong to any that absolutely refuse to submit to Christianity. Besides, it is to be observed, that those acts which this law punishes with death, are specified by the law to be the worshipping of the sun and moon, and other gods, (Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. xvii. 3); the persuading to worship other Gods, and, for cities to fall from God to do it, (Deut. xiii. 5, 6, 12); and therefore this punishment cannot be extended to other acts, which, by interpretation and consequence, may be argued into the general nature, or rather notion of idolatries. A thing necessary to be said, because it is manifest, that there have been those, that have made reading service or a sermon, much more kneeling at the communion, idolatry; who, if they should proceed to improve their madness, to that consequence which naturally it produceth, must proceed to destroy civil society; by destroying all them, whom, in their madness, they take for idolaters, as that wretched person did his father, for persuading him to receive the communion

kneeling. As for those that disobeyed the consistory, it is to be remembered, that hath been formally observed, that religion, and the civil state of God's ancient people, made but one society, by virtue of the law, that estated them in the Land of Promise, upon condition of worshipping God, and governing themselves in their civil life according to the same; by consequence whereof, whosoever should refuse to stand to that judgment, which God by the law appointeth, to determine the differences which should arise about the interpretation and limitation of that which the law had not expressed, must endanger a breach among the people, which, it is all one whether you call rebellion or schism. Now, it is no inconvenience to grant, that whosoever shall pretend, under the title of Christianity, to trouble the civil peace of that people and state wherein he liveth, be thought guilty of such punishment as the height of his offence shall deserve. Because, as this crime is most capital, as nearest concerning the public, so it is most manifest, that Christianity cannot be wronged by the punishment of it, seeing it hath been showed, that Christianity enableth no man to trouble the public peace. So that if any man make it a part of his religion to maintain his religion by force, being by such profession fallen from the innocence of Christianity, he is justly exposed to the violence of all temporal laws that punish those which trouble the public peace. This is the case of them that thought themselves tied in conscience by the bull of Pius the Fifth against queen Elizabeth;

and it is the case of all them, that under any title of religion whatsoever, pretend to maintain the profession or exercise thereof by faction or force. For it is easy to see, that the primitive Christians maintain themselves so against the Gentiles, that supposing them no Christians, yet it doth appear that they could not rightfully persecute them for their Christianity; which none can maintain but those that profess to assert their Christianity by nothing else but by suffering for it. And here it is worth our noting, that about the time of our Lord, there was a constitution of the consistory against "rebellious elders," as they call them, (that is, such as having attained the degree of "Doctors of the Law," should teach anything to be lawful or unlawful by the law, contrary to the determination of the consistory), that they should be put to death, as you may see in Maimoni, in that title. Which, how far it was ever in force is hard to be said, because, by the Gospels we understand that the nation had not power of life and death at that time. For, that it was about that time that they say it was established, appears, because they report it to have been made in regard of the differences then on foot between the scholars of Hillel and Sammai, which we know were not long before our Lord's time. This constitution is nothing else but the limitation of that which the law of Deut. xvii. 8, establisheth to particular circumstances. And upon supposition of this constitntion it is, that our Lord expresseth the difference between Moses' law and his gospel, when he saith, (Matt. v. 19), "He

that shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, shall be least in the kingdom of heaven, but he that teacheth and doeth them, shall be great in the kingdom of heaven." For the very terms of that constitution being death to him that should "both teach and do" contrary to the determination of the consistory, it is manifest that our Lord, alluding to that constitution of the synagogue, declareth hereby, that on the contrary, there is no penalty of death upon him that should "teach and do" contrary to his precepts as those of the consistory, but greater, that is, to be least in the kingdom of heaven. Whereby he showeth, that the gospel appointeth no temporal punishment to those that break Christ's precepts, but denies not that civil states might. For the gospel, supposing and establishing civil society, supposeth also those penalties without which it subsisteth not. And the punishment of those that violate civil society, under the title of Christianity, is not by the gospel, but by the civil power which it presupposeth and voideth not; because preaching that Christianity cannot be prejudicial to states, it confirmeth as to Christianity that power which all states have toward all religions, to see that they prove not prejudicial to the public peace. We have then two cases of religion punishable with death: the first, when that which is contrary to the law of nature, is, by the corruption of natural light, made matter of religion, as hath been said of idolaters, and as it may be said of the whole spawn of Gnostics, from Simon Magus to the Manichees, their heirs and successors,

which, as they corrupted Christianity with heathenism, so they took away the difference of good and bad, and brought in, under pretence of religion, such horrible uncleanness as nature abhors: which being, by mistake of the Gentiles, imposed upon the primitive Christians, as by the defence which they make for themselves they do evidence sufficiently that they are wronged by those reports, so they declare that if they were true, they would not refuse the persecutions which they plead against. The second case is, when anything prejudicial to civil society is held and professed as part of Christianity. For, as that which is prejudicial to the public peace, must needs be punishable by those powers which are trusted with the maintenance of public peace, and that with the utmost punishment when the case deserves it; so it is certain that it is not Christianity which is punished in so doing, because Christianity contains nothing prejudicial to civil society and public peace; setting these cases aside, if no man can be constrained by capital punishment to become a Christian, it followeth that no heretic, schismatic or apostate from Christianity, can be punishable with death, merely for the opinion which he professeth. The same reasons rightly improved, seem to conclude, that no man is punishable by the civil death of banishment from his native country and people, merely for an opinion which he believeth and professeth, though falsely, to be part of Christianity. For, you see there is a great difference between the case of the law and the gospel; the law is the condition of a covenant between God

and the people of Israel, by which they were all estated in the Land of Promise, and every one in his several interests in the same: so that whosoever should renounce or violate the condition of this covenant, which is the law, must needs become liable to the punishment of death, when the law establisheth it; and therefore to that of banishment or civil death, or any less punishment, when the law enableth to establish it. But the gospel is the condition of a covenant which tenders the kingdom of heaven to all those that embrace and observe it: and therefore requires all nations, kingdoms, states, and commonwealths, to enter into one society of the Church, merely for the common service of God, upon conscience of the same faith, and duty of the same obedience: but otherwise acknowledging the same obligation, both of civil and domestic society as afore. Whereupon it follows, that as Christians, embracing Christianity freely, (because it cannot be truly embraced otherwise), purchase themselves thereby no right or privilege against the secular powers which were over them afore, so no secular powers that are sovereign, by professing Christianity themselves, purchase any right and power (as to God) of enforcing Christianity upon their subjects, by such penalties as the constitution of those civil societies which they govern enables them not to inflict according to the common law of all nations. Wherefore, seeing common reason discovereth not the truth of Christianity to us, and therefore the common law of nations enjoineth not Christianity as the condition of civil

society, but that civil societies, as they subsisted before Christianity, so still subsist upon principles, which, for their original, are afore it, though for their perfection after it, it seems that the sovereign powers of civil societies are not enabled to make Christianity the condition of being a member of those states which they govern. But if secular powers be not enabled to punish the renouncing of Christianity, or of any part of it, with natural or civil death, doth it therefore follow, that all men are by God's law to be left to their freedom, to believe and profess what they please? I suppose there are very great penalties, under the rate of those, which the constitution of civil societies, by the common law of nations, will enable the sovereign powers thereof, to punish the neglect of Christianity with, when they have avowed it for the religion of the states which they govern. For, in that case, the neglect of Christianity is not only a sin against God and a good conscience, but against civil society, and that reverence which every man owes the powers that conclude his own people, in thankfulness to the invaluable benefit of peaceable protection, which he enjoys by the same. Secondly, seeing that all religion, excepting true Christianity, is a most powerful means of disturbing the public peace of civil societies, though perhaps it profess no such thing expressly, it follows by consequence, that all powers that are trusted with the preservation of public peace, are enabled to forbid that which is not true Christianity, by all penalties, under those that have been excepted. So that,

when true Christianity is forbidden under such penalties, the fault shall be, not in usurping, but in abusing the power, in applying it to a wrong subject, not in straining it to that which it extendeth not to. And in so doing, that is, in suffering that which is so done, it is not to be thought that Christianity can be wronged, though wrong be done to the men that are Christians. For, seeing it is the common profession of Christians to bear Christ's cross, and seeing it was the disposition of God, to advance Christianity to the stern of the Roman empire, and to the rule of other Christian kingdoms and commonwealths, by demonstrating, that it was not prejudicial to civil society, by the sufferings of the primitive Christians, it followeth, that, whatsoever a man holds for true Christianity, cannot be demonstrated to be so, as God hath appointed Christianity to be demonstrated, but by the sufferings of them that profess it. And therefore it remains agreeable to reason, that God hath given secular powers such right to restrain pretended Christianity, that when it is used against the true, it cannot be said to be usurped, but abused. It will be said, for it is said already, that any constraint to Christianity by temporal punishment, will serve but to confirm some, and engage them to that which they have once professed contrary to truth; and that others, who, to avoid punishment, shall outwardly submit to what inwardly they approve not, must needs forfeit all power of Christianity, by preferring the world before any part of it. To which it must be answered, that, all this granted, proves not that it is

unjust, or that civil powers have no right to make such laws, but that it is not expedient, the exercise of it, being, probably, to no good purpose, which defeats not the right, till it be proved, that it cannot be exercised to any good purpose; which in this point cannot be done. For, it is as probably said on the other side, that, by temporal penalties, a man is induced to consider with less prejudice, that which the law of his country pretendeth to be for his good, and to relish it aright, when, upon due consideration, it appears to be no otherwise: and so, the punishment of the law tends to the same purpose, as all afflictions are sent by God, to drive men to their good against their will; and, that those who feignedly submit to Christianity, may, as Aristotle says, be sun-burnt by walking in the sun, though they walk not in the sun for that purpose: that is, by trying the effect of Christianity in the worship of God, and reformation of men's lives among whom they live, by being under such laws may be won to embrace it for itself, which, at first they embraced for the worldly privilege of it. To which purpose there can be no mean so effectual as the restoring of the public discipline of penance in the Church; by which it becomes most evident, what inward esteem men set upon Christianity, by the esteem they set upon the communion of the Church; and, that the sentence of excommunication is abhorred, not for the temporal penalties, which, by civil laws attend upon it, but for the society of the Church, which it intercepteth. And truly, this last inconvenience of hypocritical profession can by no

means be avoided, wheresoever Christianity, or any opinion supposed to be a necessary part of it, is made the religion of any state. For evidence whereof, I must repeat first, that which was supposed afore, that there are but two reasons for which any religion can be said to be the religion of any state,—to wit, privileges and penalties. In the second place, I must suppose here, that, as exemption from any penalty is a privilege, so exemption from a privilege is a penalty. Wherefore, seeing no religion can be the religion of any state, but by such privileges as another religion is not capable of, it is manifest that toleration of religion, as it is a privilege in comparison of punishment, so it is a punishment in comparison of that religion which is privileged. These things supposed, it will not be difficult to render a reason why Christianity must of necessity decay, and why the power of it is so decayed since the world came into the Church. For when men came not to Christianity, till they had digested the hardship of the cross, and resolved to prefer the next world afore this, it is no marvel if they endured what they had foreseen and resolved against. But, seeing temporal privilege, as well as temporal punishment, may belong to true Christianity, no marvel if men follow the reason of privilege, not of Christianity, when they go both together, though by consequence they will be ready to change as the privilege changes.

Now, as to the privileges which Christianity is endowed with by the act of God, or made capable of by the same from sovereign powers, when they make

Christianity the religion of those states which they govern, it is very easy to resolve from the premises, that the clergy are not exempt by divine right from any law of those states under which they live. For, seeing the clergy is a quality which presupposeth Christianity, and subsisteth by virtue thereof, and that no quality subsisting by the constitution of the Church, or by Christianity, endoweth any man with any temporal right, wherewith he is not invested by the quality which he holdeth in his own country, it followeth, that no man, by being of the clergy, can be privileged against secular power, or against those laws which are the acts of it. And therefore the example of Abiathar, high-priest, removed from his office by Solomon, for rebellion and treason (1 Kings ii. 26), to wit, because, as it is there expressed, he had deserved to be removed out of the world, is an effectual argument to this purpose. For if that office, to which his person was designed by God's express law (supposing him to be lawful high-priest), might be taken away for a crime committed against the majesty of the king, subsisting by an act subsequent to the law established by God, because the law which allowed a king, enjoined obedience by all the penalties of the law; and, indeed, seeing the clergy is but a degree qualifying men in Christianity above the people, those temporal privileges, which by divine right are pretended to belong to the clergy, must needs belong to the people in an inferior degree, by the same right; much more the clergy, presupposing the Church, as the Church the state, must needs leave all

men that are qualified by it, obliged upon the same terms as it finds them to the states wherein they profess themselves Christians, which cannot be, when both societies of the Church and the commonwealth consist of the same persons. But though the clergy be not exempt from any secular jurisdiction by divine right, yet they are so capable of exemption by divine right, that no man can deny the privilege granted by the first Christian emperors (the causes of the clergy to be heard and determined within the clergy themselves), to be very agreeable to reason of Christianity. For, if our Lord hath commanded, and the apostles ordained, the differences of Christians to be ended within themselves, that they might not prove a scandal to Christianity, it is but correspondent and consequent thereunto, that, for avoiding the scandals which the differences of the clergy may occasion, or to make them less public, they be ended within themselves; seeing it is manifest to all understandings, that the reverence of the clergy is of great interest to the advancement of Christianity. On the other side, seeing the discipline which the clergy are liable to by Christianity, is so much stricter than that which the civil laws of any commonwealth whatsoever can require and determine, that clergymen cannot incur the penalties of criminal laws, but they must be supposed to have violated the stricter discipline of the Church which they are under afore; it follows, that it is so far from Christianity to privilege them against such laws, that the Church cannot otherwise be cleared of the scandal than by ecclesiastical censures,

correspondent to the temporal punishments which they incur. But if thus it be true, that no man by virtue of his Christianity is endowed with any secular privilege of that civil society wherein he liveth; by the same reason it must be true, that no man is by his Christianity incapable of any right common to all members of the state in which he liveth, unless some law of Christianity can be produced, whereby it may appear to be incompatible with the quality he holdeth in the Church. Which hath been pretended with much noise, to render the clergy of this Church incapable of employment in secular affairs, in point of divine right, but will be very difficult to prove by the Scriptures, in regard that Christianity containeth nothing but that which tendeth to the maintenance of civil society; as on the other side, civil society and the powers thereof tendeth to the maintenance of Christianity. Therefore the words of our Lord, "That his disciples should not be as the Gentiles, among whom the great ones domineer over the rest, and in so doing are called gracious lords," (Matt. xx. 25; Mar. x. 42, 43; Luc. xxii. 25, 26), being spoken to his disciples as Christians, not as apostles, in commendation of humility and meekness, a quality concerning all Christians, cannot prove the clergy forbidden secular employment, but they must by the same reason enforce all civil power to be unlawful among Christians, as also, in the society of the Church, all superiority of power as unlawful as that which is here challenged on behalf of bishops and presbyters. On the other side, that which they are supposed to de-

stroy, they manifestly presuppose, that is to say, a superiority of power among the disciples of Christ by the names of greater and less, compatible with the quality of his disciples, and therefore concern not the lawfulness of power, but the right use of it, and so forbid no sort of Christians any power whereof any Christian is capable. The words of St. Paul are more pertinent to this purpose (2 Tim. ii. 4), for it is a comparison that he borroweth from the custom of the Roman empire, wherein soldiers, as they were exempted from being tutors to men's persons, or curators to their estates, so they were forbidden to be proctors of other men's causes, to undertake husbandry, or merchandize. Therefore when St. Paul saith to Timothy, "No man that goeth to the army entangleth himself in business of the world, that he may please him that imprested him," he raises indeed a particular exhortation to Timothy, upon a general ground of reason appearing in the Roman laws, that those of Timothy's quality oblige not themselves to business inconsistent with it. But can he be understood, hereby, to make that a law to the militia of the Church, which was a law to the militia of the empire? Or can an exhortation drawn from a comparison, be thought to create a general law to all of Timothy's quality in general or in particular, further than the reason of the comparison will infer in every particular case? It is true that soldiers were forbidden business of profit, were exempted employments of public service, as was that of tutors and curators, because thereby they became obliged to the

laws, or to their own profit, to the prejudice of their attendance upon their colours; that is to say that for the great distance between civil and military employment in that state, the laws had rendered soldiers incapable of such qualities. And so it is confessed, that the laws of the Church, the canons, rendered the clergy incapable of the like, during the distance between the Church and the state not yet Christian. For so we find that in St. Cyprian's time, clergymen were forbidden to be tutors or curators for the like reason, because their obligation to the laws in that estate would have excused them to the Church; and because, that by reason of the distance between the state and the Church at that time, it could not tend to any public good of the society of the Church. But in states that profess Christianity, can it be said, that the attendance of clergymen upon the affairs of the commonwealth, cannot be to the public good of the Church, consisting of all the same persons, only in a distinct reason and quality, whereof the commonwealth consisteth? To me it seems far otherwise, that in all public assemblies of states, whether for making laws or for jurisdiction, or for counsel, or for preservation of public peace, to banish those from them, whose quality and profession entitles them to the most exact knowledge and practice of Christianity, is to banish the consideration of Christianity from the conclusions and effects of those assemblies. For, though it be seen by experience, that the clergy come short of the holiness and exact conversation in Christianity, which they profess, yet

it will be always seen likewise, that the people fail more, and before them, and that they are first corrupted, by and with the people, than corrupters of the people. And, as for the service of the Church, which they cannot attend upon in the meantime, supposing the order here challenged to be instituted by the apostles, the inconvenience ceaseth. For, supposing all cathedral Churches to be corporations, trusted to provide for the government of all congregations contained in them, in Church matters, and the ministry of the offices of divine service at the same, whatsoever clergyman shall, by public employment, destitute his congregation, shall leave it to the care of the Church originally entrusted with it; which Churches, being all nurseries and seminaries of clergy, designed for the service of their respective bodies, may easily, by the means thereof, see all offices discharged from time to time, to all congregations which they contain. And this is that which I desired to say here in general, to this most difficult point, of the privileges and penalties which Christianity may be established and enforced with by a state that professes it. As for the particulars, which, upon those general reasons, may be disputed in point of lawful or unlawful, as also, for the point of expedience, whereby, that which in general may be done, ought or ought not to be done when the case is put, I leave to them that are qualified and obliged, to proceed in determining the same.

To come then to the great difficulty proposed, it is to be acknowledged, that the power of the Church,

in the persons of them to whom it is derived by continual succession, is a law ordained by the apostles, for the unity and edification of the Church; so that no part of the whole can stand obliged by any act that is not done by the council and synod of bishops, respective to that part of the Church which it pretendeth to oblige. But withal it is to be acknowledged, that there are abundance of other laws given the Church by our Lord and his apostles, whether they concern matters of faith or matter of works, whether immediately concerning the salvation of particular Christians, or only the public order of the Church, which, proceeding from the same, if not a greater power than the succession of the Church, are to be retained, all and every one of them, with the same religion and conscience. And, with this limitation, the distinction which the Church of Rome is usually answered with, is to be admitted, between succession of persons and succession of doctrine. Not as if it were not a part of Christian doctrine that the succession of the apostles is to be obeyed as their ordinance, but because there are many other points of doctrine delivered the Church by our Lord and his apostles, all and every one of them equally to be regarded with it. Again, I have showed, that the secular power is bound to protect the ecclesiastical in determining all things, which are not determined by our Lord and his apostles, and to give force and effect to the acts of the same; but in matters already determined by them, as laws given to the Church, if, by injury of time, the practice become contrary to the

law, the sovereign power being Christian and bound to protect Christianity, is bound to employ itself in giving strength, first, to that which is ordained by our Lord and his apostles. By consequence, if those whom the power of the Church is trusted with shall hinder the restoring of such laws, it may and ought, by way of penalty to such persons, to suppress their power, that so it may be committed to such as are willing to submit to the superior ordinance of our Lord and his apostles. A thing thoroughly proved, both by right of secular powers in advancing Christianity with penalties, and in establishing the exercise of it, and, in particular, by all the examples of the pious kings of God's people, reducing the law into practice and suppressing the contrary thereof. Seeing, then, that it is agreed upon by all that profess the Reformation, that many and divers things ordained by our Lord and his apostles, whether to be believed, or to be practised in the Church, were so abolished by injury of time, that it was requisite they should be restored, though against the will of those that bore that power, which the apostles appointed necessary to conclude the Church; it followeth, that the necessity of reformation inferreth not the abolishing of the succession of the apostles, but that more laws of our Lord and his apostles, and of more moment, were preferred before it, where it could not regularly be preserved; which when it may be preserved, is to be so far preserved before all designs which may seem to human judgment expedient to the advancement of Christianity, that whosoever shall endeavour, without such cause,

to destroy the power derived from the apostles, by conferring it upon those that succeed them not in it, and, much more, whosoever shall do it to introduce laws contrary to the ordinance of the apostles, shall be thereby guilty of the horrible crime of schism. For it is to be remembered that there are some things immediately necessary to the salvation of particular Christians, whether concerning faith or good manners; and there are other things necessary to the public order and peace of the Church, that by it Christians may be edified in all matters of the first kind. The denying of any point of the first kind, may for distinction sake be called heresy, when a man is resolute and obstinate in it; but in the other kind, it is not a false opinion that makes a man a schismatic, till he agree to destroy the unity of the Church for it. It can scarce fall out indeed, that any man proceed to destroy the unity of the Church, without some false opinion in Christianity: yet it is not the opinion, but the destroying of a true, or erecting of a false power in the Church, that makes schism. And it can scarce fall out, that any man should broach a doctrine to Christianity without an intent to make a sect apart; yet, only a false persuasion in matters necessary to salvation, is enough to make an heretic. This is the reason that both heresy and schism go many times under the common name of heresy, or sects, among the ancient Fathers of the Church. Otherwise, it is truly said, that heresy is contrary to faith, schism to charity; because the crime of heresy is found in a single person that denies some point of faith, though

the name of it be general only to those, and to all those that make sects apart. In the meantime we must consider that the word schism signifies the state as well as the crime, in which sense, all that are in the state of schism, are not in the crime of schism, but those that give the cause of it. For as it is resolved that war cannot be just on both sides that make war, so it is true, that the cause of all divisions in the Church must needs be only on one side, and not on both: and that side which gives the cause, are rightfully called schismatics, though both sides be in the state of schism, as he in St. Augustine said of Tarquin and Lucrece, that being two in one act, yet one of them only committed adultery. If then the laws given by our Lord and his apostles be restored by consent of some part of the council and synod, requisite to oblige any respective part of the Church, and the succession of the apostles propagated by them alone, in opposition to the rest that consent not unto them, the cause of schism cannot lie on this side, which concurreth with the primitive succession of our Lord and his apostles, but upon them that violate the communion of the Church by refusing such laws and the right of such persons as acknowledge the same, the condition of the unity and communion of the Church, consisting as much in the rest of laws given by our Lord and the apostles, as in that of the succession and power of the apostles: which is the case of the Church of England. But whoever, by virtue of any authority under heaven, shall usurp ecclesiastical power, shall usurp the suc-

cession of the apostles, and take it from them that rightfully stand possessed of it, upon pretence of governing the Church by such laws, as he is really persuaded, but falsely, to be commanded the Church by our Lord and his apostles; this, whosoever shall do, or be accessory to, is guilty of schism.

The issue, then, of this whole dispute stands upon this point,—how, and by what means it may be evidenced, what laws of the faith and manners of particular Christians of the public order of the Church have been given the Church by our Lord and his apostles? A point which cannot be resolved aright, but by them which resolve aright, for what reasons, and upon what grounds and motives, they are Christians. For, without doubt, the true reasons and motives of Christianity, if they be pursued and improved by due consequence, will either discover the truth of anything disputable in the matter of Christianity, or that it is not determinable by any revealed truth. Here it is much to be considered that the truth of things revealed by God, is not manifested to the minds of them to whom, and by whom God reveals them to the world, by the same means as to them whom he speaks to by their means. Moses and the prophets, our Lord and his apostles, when they were sent to declare the will of God to his people, were first assured themselves that what they were sent to declare to the world, was first revealed to themselves by God, and then were enabled to assure the world of the same. By what means they were assured themselves, concerns me not here to enquire. It is

enough that they were always enabled to do such works as might assure the world that they were sent by God. For how could they demand of any man to believe them, till they showed him a reason to believe? Indeed, though there can no reason be given why matters of faith are true, there may be a reason given why they are credible; because many things are true, the reason whereof man's understanding comprehends not, yet God can show him reason why he should believe. Thus was the law of Moses, thus was the gospel of Christ, advanced to the world and received; God having bestowed on them that advanced the one and the other, a power to do works, the greatness and strangeness whereof might be able to prevail over the difficulties of those things which they propounded to be believed and obeyed. For though it is no inconvenience that God should grant revelations to many persons, to whom he granteth not the power of doing such works as may serve to convince the world that those revelations are sent by God; yet, that he should employ any man to declare unto the world, any thing that God requireth to be believed and obeyed, without any means to make evidence of his commission, ordinary reason will show to be too gross an inconvenience.

This being the motive of faith in general, the difficulty that remains will be, how it becomes evident to the senses of all ages, all places, all persons of the world that can be obliged to receive the faith, being done and seen only by those persons that were sent, and to whom. A difficulty endless to those that ad-

vise not as they should do with their own common-sense. For it is manifest, that we receive an infinite number of truths which never came under our own senses, from the sense of others, when we find all those that have had the means to take sensible notice of them, agree in the same. Such are all things that are, or are done, in any distance from any man's senses, whereof he cannot be informed but by historical faith. For all that is related from them that have seen, carries with it the credit of historical truth, as far as common-sense obliges to believe, that all that relate, can neither be deceived nor agree to deceive. Whereupon, that which all agree in becomes unquestionable, because it is as easy to know what may be seen, as it is impossible that all that agree in a report, should agree in a design to deceive. The common notions in Euclid are unquestionable; and is it more questionable that there is such a city as Rome or Constantinople, such a country as Persia and China, to those that never were there? Would physicians and astronomers build their studies, or be suffered to build their practice, upon experiments and observations related by particular persons, did not common-sense assure that men would not take the pains to abuse others, only to be laughed at and detested themselves? The question then being, (to suppose a question where there is none, because there is a question what is the true answer) whether the miracles recorded in the Scripture were done or not, neither could they that first received them agree to deceive or be deceived, but stood convict, because they must have done

violence to their own senses otherwise, and being once admitted unquestionable, to the world's end they remain no otherwise. For, the effect of them continuing, in that the law or the gospel is in force by virtue of them, they remain as certain, as he that sees a city builded a thousand years since, knows that there were men alive at the building of it. The Jews therefore are in the wrong, when they argue for the law against the gospel, that because there never was, or indeed can be such an appearance of all them of one age, to whom the gospel is addressed, as there was of the Israelites at the giving of the law, when all of that age that were to be tied by it were present at once, to be witnesses that it was sent from God, therefore no law abrogating the same, can by any means become credible. For, as for the love of this advantage against Christianity, they deny that which the first sending of Moses expressly affirmeth, (Exod. iv. 5), that all the miracles which he was endowed with, tended to win faith of the people, that God sent him; and will have all the credit of the law, to stand precisely upon the appearance and standing of Mount Sinai as they call it; where they will have all the people of Israel to have been prophets of Moses' rank, whom God spoke face to face with, without any commotion or rapture of his or their senses: so they consider not how the truth of this appearance of Mount Sinai is manifested to their posterity; seeing that by the same means as it becomes evident to those that live under other times, the motives of Christianity may also be conveyed and evidenced to them that are not

present at the doing of the works. This for the evidence. As for the sufficience of the motives to the gospel, in comparison of those of the law, the possibility thereof necessarily follows upon God's omnipotence: the actuality of it is sufficiently proved by the judgment of all nations that have embraced the gospel, in comparison of one that embraced the law. Especially if we consider the predictions of the law and the prophets going before, and the conversion of the Gentiles following upon the publication of the gospel; which being reckoned among the miracles that render the gospel to be believed, do necessarily bring all the motives of the law to depose for the truths of the gospel.

Thus much premised, it will be possible to resolve in a few words the subject of voluminous disputes. All men know how those of the Church of Rome would have us believe and receive the Scriptures, upon the credit of the Church, affirming them to come from God; and consequently, whatsoever the Church determines to be the true meaning of the Scriptures and the word of God. So that there can be no true faith in any man that disbelieves any part of it; whether by the Church they mean the pope, or a council, or whosoever they shall agree to have right to conclude the Church. On the other side it were easy to say who they are, that profess to believe the Scriptures upon the immediate dictate of the Spirit of God to their spirit, that they come from God. And, though I cannot say that consequently they deny any man to have faith that believes not all that their spirit dictates to be the meaning of God's word,

because the dictates of several spirits are so contrary, that this can be no rule: yet when the qualities of men's persons, with the dictates of their spirits, are alleged in bar to the received doctrine of the Church, it is manifest that men expect such light to be struck out of the darkness and confusion of such dictates, that the Church shall at length be convinced to believe and receive it. And truly those that profess that they could not believe the Scriptures, but by the immediate dictate of the Spirit, by the same reason can conclude nothing to be the will of God, and the true intent of his word, without it. This, if it were meant only of the testimony of the Spirit of God, witnessing with our spirit that we are the children of God, and sealing the assurance of his favour to our persons and actions, then would it not take away the the grounds upon which, and the means by which we are effectually moved and brought to be Christians, both in profession and in deed; so that by consequence, means might be had whereby a man's own spirit might be enabled to discern between the dictates of God's Spirit, and that of the world. But being advanced in answer to this difficulty, as the first ground of faith, and the last resolution of it cannot be so understood; but of necessity importeth, that no man can be assured, by the assurance of faith, of any truth, without that means by which God reveals himself to them, by whom he declares his will to others. That either any person on behalf of the Church, or any private spirit, should pretend to any such endowment, is contrary to common-sense, and

their own proceedings, when they use the like means to inform themselves, both why to believe the Scripture, and what the meaning of it and the will of God is, as other men do. And, if they do pretend more, they must show such evidence as God hath ordained to convince the world, before they can pretend to oblige any man to believe them. Besides, that so, it would not be possible to render a reason why God hath given his Scriptures at all, seeing that notwithstanding he must furnish either some persons in behalf of the Church, or all believers with revelations to convince them what is his wlll and meaning by the Scriptures. But if they admit of such means as God hath appointed Christians to decide, whether it be the Spirit of God, or of the world, that witnesseth with their spirit, then is the question where it was: because, as God gives his Spirit to those that are Christians, upon suc h qualities and to such intents as they who pretend to the spirit of God, ought to find in themselves, and to propose to themselves, and no other; so are they assured, that it is the Spirit of God that moves them, because they are assured of those qualities and intentions in themselves, and by no other means.

Now, having showed before upon what grounds Christianity is to be embraced, I demand, whether it be in the compass of any reason, that is convinced of the truth of Christianity, to question whether the Scriptures are to be received or not. Certainly, he were a strange man that should consent to be a Jew, or a Mahometan, and yet make a question whether

the book of the Law came from Moses, or the Alcoran from Mahomet or not. Therefore, supposing that we stand convict of the truth of Christianity, by the same means we stand assured, that God hath caused those great works to be done by Moses and the prophets, by our Lord and his apostles, by which the world stands convict that they were sent by God; and by the same that the Scriptures, wherein those works and their doctrine is related, are from God. Neither can the Church act to the assuring of anybody herein as the Church, but as a multitude of men endowed with common-sense, which cannot agree to deceive or be deceived. For if the profession of Christianity go before the being of the Church, and Christianity cannot be received till it be acknowledged with the records thereof to be from God, then this assurance, though it come from the agreement of the men that make the Church, goes in nature before the quality of a Church, and therefore comes as well from the consent of Jews for the Old Testament, as of Christians for the New. Nor let it trouble any man, that by this means faith may seem to be the work of reason, and not the grace of God, seeing it may very reasonably be demanded, where is the necessity of grace to enable a man to believe what he sees reason to believe? For though the matter of faith be credible of itself, yet it is not evident of itself; and though sufficient reason may be showed why a man ought to believe, yet, on the other side, there are many scandals and stumbling blocks in the way to hinder him from believing; the chief of which is the offence of the cross, whereof our Lord

saith, "Happy is he that is not offended at me." For it cannot seem strange that a man should refuse to believe that which he sees sufficient reason to convince him to believe, when as, by believing, he becomes liable to bear the cross of Christ, specially not being enforced by the light of reason, evidencing the truth of Christianity, and determining the assent of the mind, as fire does wood to burn, but swayed by external motives working upon the mind, according as they find it disposed to goodness. For when this disposition is not perfectly wrought by God's grace, nothing hinders sufficient motives to prove ineffectual to them whom the cross of Christ scandalizeth.

This being resolved, it follows by necessary consequence, upon what reasons and by what means, the meaning of the Scriptures, or rather the will of God concerning all matters questioned in Christianity, is determinable. For it is not the same thing, many times, to know the meaning of the Scriptures, as it is to know how far it is God's will that it bind the Church. The name of the Scripture enforceth no more, but that all is true which it containeth. Now it containeth many times the sayings and doings of evil men, as well as of good; of Satan himself sometimes; wherein, it intends only, to assure, that such and such things were said and done. And, not to insist on the law of Moses, (which is all the word of God, and no part of it binding to us as the law of Moses), because another disposition of God's will may appear by other Scriptures—in the New Testament itself, are found many things that now have

not the force of precepts, though it appear that they did sometimes bind the Church. Such is the practice of the feasts of love, which St. Paul presses so hard, as I shewed afore; such is his precept that women be veiled, men bare, when they pray in the Church; the decree of the apostles at Jerusalem, against eating blood, and things strangled and sacrificed to idols; the precept of St. James of anointing the sick; the ceremonies of baptism, which I shewed afore out of St. Paul, to have been in use in the primitive Church; yea, the very custom of drenching in baptism, which no man doubts but the institution signifies, and yet is now scarce anywhere in use. If, therefore, there be question of the will of God, what is the true meaning of the Scriptures, and how far it binds the Church, the same common-sense of all men, that assures the truth of the Scriptures, must assure it. The knowledge of original languages, the comparison of like passages, the consideration of the consequence, and text of the Scripture, the records of ancient writers, describing affairs of the same times; and if there be any other helps to understand the Scriptures by, they are but the means to improve common-sense, to convince, or be convinced of it. If that will not serve to procure resolution, there remains nothing else but the consent of the Church, testifying the belief and practice of the first times that received the Scriptures, and thereby convincing common-sense of the meaning of them, as the intent of all laws is evidenced, by the original practice of the same. So that this whole question, what laws God hath given his Church, falls

under the same resolution, by which matters of faith were determined in the ancient councils, in which, that which originally and universally had been received in the Church, that was ordained by them to be retained for the future, as demonstrated to have been received from our Lord and his apostles, by the same kind of evidence for which we receive Christianity, though not so copious, as of less importance. And therefore it will not serve the turn to object, that the mystery of iniquity was a working even under the apostles, as St. Paul saith, (2 Thess. ii. 7), to cause the belief and practice of the primitive Church always to stand suspect, as the means to bring in antichrist. For it is not enough to say, that antichrist was then coming, unless a man will undertake to specify, and prove by the Scriptures, that the being of antichrist consists in that which he disputes against. For if we will needs presume, that the government of the Church which was received in the next age to the apostles, is that wherein antichristianism consists, because the mystery of iniquity was a work under the apostles, why shall not the Socinians argue with as good right, that the belief of the Trinity and Incarnation, is that wherein antichristianism consists, being received likewise in the next age to the apostles, under whom the mystery of iniquity was a work? Or rather, why is either the one or the other admitted to argue from such obscure Scriptures, things of such dangerous consequence, unless they will undertake further to prove by the Scriptures, that antichrist is antichrist for that which they cry down? Which I do not see that they have en-

deavoured to do, for the things in question among us, about the government of the Church. Besides this, my reason carries the answer to this objection in it, because it challenges no authority, but that of historical truth, to any record of the Church: appealing for the rest to common-sense to judge, whether that which is so evidenced to have been first in practice, agreeing with that which is recorded in the Scriptures, be not evidently the meaning of those things which we find by the Scriptures, to have been instituted by our Lord and his apostles. And this it is which for the present I have pretended to prove by this discourse: which being spent chiefly in removing the difficulty of those Scriptures, which have been otherwise understood in this business, confesseth the strength of the cause to stand upon the original, general, and perpetual practice of the Church, determining the matters in difference by the same evidence, as Christianity stands recommended to us, proportionably to the importance of them. Which, as it is not such as is able to convince all judgments, which are not all capable to understand the state of the whole Church; yet it is enough to maintain the possession of right derived to this instant, so that no power on earth can undertake to erect ecclesiastical authority, without and against the succession of the apostles, upon the ground of a contrary persuasion, without incurring the crime of schism.

I will not leave this point, without saying something of their case, that have reformed the Church without authority of bishops; that have abolished the

order, and vested their power (in which I have shewed that they succeed the apostles, as to their respective Churches, with dependence on the whole), upon Presbyteries, or whatsoever besides, which to decline here, might make men conceive, that I have a better or worse opinion of them than indeed I have.

For a rule and model, or standard to measure what ought to be judged in such a case ; suppose we, (that which is possible in nature, the terms being consistent together, though not at all likely to come to pass in the course of the world), a Christian people, greater or less, destitute of pastors endowed with the chief authority left by the apostles in all Churches. I suppose, in this case, no man can doubt, but they are bound to admit the same course, as those that are first converted to be Christians. That is, to receive pastors from them that are able to found and erect Churches, and to unite them to the communion of the whole Church. which is no less authority than that of a synod of bishops, that only, or the equivalent of it, in the person of an apostle, or commissary of an apostle, being able to give a chief pastor to any Church. But suppose, further, that this authority cannot be had, shall we believe that they shall be tied to live without ecclesiastical communion? When it is agreed, that, as the unity of the Church is part of the substance of the Christian Faith, necessary to the salvation of all, so the first divine precept that those Christians shall be bound to, is, to live in the society of a Church. For, where several things are commanded by God, whereof the one is

the means whereby the other is attained, it is manifest that the chief precept is that which commandeth the end, and that which commandeth the means subordinate to the other. Now it is manifest, that all powers, and all offices endowed with the same in the Church, are ordained by God, and enjoined the Church, to the end that good order may be preserved in the Church; and good order is enjoined, as the means to preserve unity; and the unity of the Church commanded, as the being of that society, whereby Christians are edified, both to the knowledge and exercise of Christianity, by communicating with the Church, especially in the service of God, and in those ordinances wherein he hath appointed it to consist. Seeing, then, this edification is the end for which the society of the Church subsisteth, and all pastors and officers ordained, as means to procure it, as it is sacrilege to seek the end without the means, when both are possible, so I conceive it would be sacrilege, not to seek the end without the means, when both are not. Now it is manifestly possible, that the edification of the Church may be procured effectually, by those that receive not their power, or their office, from persons endowed with it themselves afore; especially, if we suppose them to receive the same power to be exercised by the same laws, which those that received it from the apostles themselves, had, and acknowledged from the beginning.

The consequence of all this is plain enough. The resolution of Gulielmus Antissiodorensis among the school doctors, is well known and approved; that the

order of bishops, in case of necessity, may be propagated by presbyters, supposing that they never received power to do such anact, from them that had it. My reason makes me bold to resolve further, that, in the case which is put, Christian people may appoint themselves bishops, presbyters and deacons, provided it be with such limits of power, to be exercised under such laws, as are appointed before, by our Lord and his apostles; and, that upon these terms, they ought to be acknowledged by the rest of the Church, whensoever there is opportunity of communicating with the same, provided that they, and their Churches, submit to such further laws, as the rest of the Church hath provided, for the further regulating of itself, according as the part is to submit to the determination of the whole: and that this acknowledgement of them would be effectual, instead of solemn ordination, by imposition of hands of persons endowed with that power which is intended to be conveyed by the same. Whereby I make not personal succession to be no precept of God, (which if it were not, then no schism were necessarily a sin, and, by consequence, all that can be said of the society of the Church, would be a fable), but commanded in order to another, of living in the society of a Church, and therefore not binding, when both are not possible, but the chief is. Beside this main reason included in my resolution, drawn from the rank of precepts given by God, as these are, the same may be concluded by this consequence: that whosoever will consider how many ordinances, instituted by the apostles, have been

either totally abolished, or very much changed by the necessity of time, rendering them useless to the succeeding condition of the Church, will not marvel to see their authority maintained, in the rest of the laws wherewith they have regulated the Church, without perpetual succession, where it cannot be had, though otherwise not to be abolished without sacrilege. How far this was the case of those whom I speak of, I will not undertake. It seems they could not have this authority propagated by them that then had it, not consenting to those apostolical laws, which, as it is agreed among us, were necessarily to be restored in the Church. It seems also, that authority was not altogether wanting to the authors of such reformations, being still of some order in the Church. For presbyters, though they succeed not the apostles in the chief authority established by them in all Churches, yet their office was, from the beginning, to assist them in the government of those Churches whereof they were made presbyters, not by way of execution of their commands only, as deacons, but by exercising the same power, where they could not discharge it themselves, though with dependence on them in all matters not determined afore. Here was some degree of necessity, to bar the personal succession of the apostles. But no necessity can be alleged, why they erected not bishops, presbyters, and deacons over themselves, with such limits of power as the apostles from the beginning determined; seeing it is manifest, that the superiority of them was generally thought to come from the corruption of the

Papacy, not from the institution of the apostles; and therefore cannot be excused by necessity, because they did not find themselves in necessity, but by their own false persuasions, created it to themselves. Which, notwithstanding, seeing they profess all that is necessary to the salvation of all Christians, either in point of faith or manners; seeing, as to the public order of the Church, they intended, and desired, and sought to restore that, which, to their best understanding, came from the institution of our Lord and his apostles; they cannot easily be condemned, to have forfeited the being of a Church, out of which there is no salvation, by this or other mistakes of like consequence, of them that consider the abuses from whence they departed. For the Church is necessarily a human, though no civil society, which we are commanded by God, in the first place, to entertain; and, as there is no society of men, wherein a particular member can prevail, to settle such laws, and such order, as are properest to the end of it, so must he live and die out of communion with the Church, that stays till he find a Church that maintains all that was instituted by our Lord and his apostles. Wherefore, though that which they have done contrary to the apostles' order cannot be justified, yet there is a reasonable presumption that God excuses it, being no part of that which he hath commanded all to believe to salvation, or which he hath commanded particular men to do; because the public order of the Church is commanded particular persons, as members of the Church, which cannot be

done without consent of the whole, that is, of them that are able to conclude it. But if any secular power upon earth shall presume to erect this ecclesiastical power, by taking it away from them that lawfully have it, (that is by an act of those that have the power before, done by virtue of some human law, which act the law of God doth not make void), and giving it to those that have it not by any such act; and that, upon another ground than that which hath been specified, of bringing back into force and use, such laws of our Lord and his apostles, as have by neglect of time been abolished and brought out of use; this power, whatsoever it is, shall not fail, in so doing, to incur the crime of schism; and all that concur or consent to the bringing of such an act into effect, shall necessarily incur the same. Much more, if it be done with a further intent, by the means of persons, thus invested with ecclesiastical power, to introduce laws contrary to the institution of our Lord and his apostles.

But though it is possible to imagine a case in which the consent of Christians may erect an ecclesiastical authority over themselves, by means whereof they may live in the society of a Church, yet there is no manner of case imaginable in which any people, or any power but the sovereign, can establish or maintain the exercise of religion, in any thing which they conceive never so necessary to Christianity, by the power of the sword, which is the force of the secular arm. The reason is peremptory, because the profession of Christ's cross is essential to Christianity,

or rather the whole substance and marrow of it. For, if it were lawful for any persons whatsoever to defend themselves by force, upon no other title but for the maintenance of themselves, in the exercise of their Christianity, then must it needs follow, that by virtue of their Christianity, they may lawfully use all sovereign power, by which force and the sword is maintained; (contrary to the principle premised at the beginning, that no good, no right of this world accrues to any man by virtue of his Christianity, or decrues from another for want of it:) as the power of the sword which is used by title of Christianity, is necessarily taken from him who otherwise is possessed of it, by them which defend themselves against the same upon the title of Christianity; and, by consequence, all goods, all rights, all estates and qualities of this world, that accrue unto any man by the use and success of such arms, are necessarily held and possessed by no title but that of Christianity. For, they that have right to defend themselves, cannot be subject to the cross, whensoever they are able to defend themselves, seeing they may as well impose it upon their enemies if they have success, as bear it themselves if they have not; though neither is it Christ's cross which a man bears for want of success. And if this had not been the profession of the primitive Christians, how could they have defended themselves by reason, and maintain that the Gentile powers ought not to persecute them? seeing that all powers are bound to maintain themselves, because therein consists the maintenance of the world in peace. So

unreasonable is it which hath been said, that Tertullian understood not himself, when he affirmeth that the Christians were then able to defend themselves against persecution, were it not contrary to their profession so to do. For, as no man of common-sense would tell the Romans that the Christians were able to resist them, if they were not, because they knew well enough how able they were; so no man zealous of Christianity would think to advantage it, by such commendations as the enemies of it might discover to be false. And, therefore, if we reason not amiss, this is the difference between Christianity and Mahometism. For Mahomet also pretended to be persecuted for religion by the Gentiles of Arabia,—witness the computation of their years, from the expulsion or persecution, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca. But, when we see that he took up arms thereupon, and begun an order which all his successors have observed, to propagate their religion by the same means, we see by this means the difference between Christianity and Mahometism. And it is to be considered by them that bring Jews again into Christian states, how they will secure those states against this danger of Judaism. For, since they have made it part of their profession, to expect a Messias that shall conquer the nations, and restore them to the Land of Promise; upon appearance that such a Messias is come, they are not like to rest, if they can hope to be his followers; as they rested not under Adrian, and at other times, when they have disturbed the peace of the states under which they lived, upon the

like hope. This also, if we reason not amiss, is the justest title of all the wars that Christians have made upon the Mahometans, for the Holy Land, because the title upon which the Mahometans first subdued it, makes them enemies to all civil nations that are Christian; seeing that the title of religion is as good against all, as against any, and whatsoever person or people usurpeth sovereign power upon it, proclaimeth thereby defiance to all states which he shall be able to deal with. And therefore this is not the case of the people of Israel under Moses: the title whereupon they challenged the Land of Promise from the nations presently in possession, being the deed of God's gift, and the consideration and condition upon which God granted it, their undertaking his law. For, though it is true that they claimed the Land of Promise upon covenant with God, to be ruled by his laws in which their religion is contained; and though this deed of God's gift could not be evident by natural reason to other nations; yet seeing they professed themselves constituted only God's commissaries, to punish the sins of the seven nations, and to root them out for their idolatries, not to impose their religion upon any other nations, or to seek any interest out of the Land of Promise; it followeth, that by this profession, they did not give other nations just cause to resist them by force, neither had they any right to hinder them in their pretended conquest of the Land of Promise. And therefore the kings of the Amorites beyond Jordan, Sihon and Og, hindering them by force to accomplish and execute this commission of

God, we see they received an accessory command to subdue them by force, and destroy them; and thereupon, an accessory grant of their dominions for an addition to their inheritance. So, my intent hereby is not to say, that God may not dispose of the goods of this world, to those that enter into covenant of religion with him, as the condition of the same; or, that man may not unlawfully make use of such disposition of his, made known by that revelation which is unknown to those against whom it is granted; (for I avow that he did so to the children of Israel under Moses, and that they lawfully did so against the seven nations); but that he did it not by the new covenant of Christianity, because it invites the sovereign powers of all nations, upon condition to enjoy the same rights which they stand possessed of when they embrace it; and, that he did not, by any revelation afterwards, make the like grant to Mahomet, as a privilege of the religion which he pretendeth to have received from God, because, if Christianity be true, no other religion must succeed it. Whereupon it follows, that those Christians that shall take upon them to bear arms, and make war upon the title of Christianity, do make themselves thereby enemies to all civil nations that are Christian, as Mahometans are. Because, as we know that Mahometism is not from God, so we know that Christianity enables no man to use the power of the sword, wherein sovereignty consists; and that if any might maintain themselves in their religion by the title of Christianity, then all that might come to have the same opinion might do the

like, and so all states might be troubled by fighting for Christianity within themselves, though not subdued, as by Mahometans seeking to impose their religion upon others.

Against this place, there is only one objection of moment, so far as I can imagine, out of the Scriptures, and that is from the example of the Maccabees. For, on the one side it is manifest, that the arms which they took up against Antiochus Epiphanes, their lawful sovereign, are approved by God, not only as foretold by Daniel and Ezekiel, and other prophets, that by them God would give his people freedom, and rule of the Land of Promise, but also, because the apostle manifestly commendeth their faith, when he reckoneth their sufferings among those great effects which it brought forth. (Heb. xi. 35, 36.) And upon this account it is, that, in propounding this objection, I said, that it is taken out of the Scriptures, not meaning thereby the books of the Maccabees, but those Scriptures which by consequence seem to approve of the Maccabees' proceedings. For, on the other side, it is manifest that they justified their arms upon title of religion, by the first breaking out of it, (1 Mac. ii. 24, 26, 27), where the zeal of the law, and the example of Phinehas is expressed to be that which moved Matthias to kill the Jew whom he saw sacrificing to idols, and to maintain it by arms. Whereby it is manifest, that out of zeal to the law, they took arms to defend it, lest it should be extinguished by the tyranny of Antiochus; and therefore, that when their arms took effect, and

purchased them freedom, and the sovereignty to the race of Mattathias, all this they held by religion, and by no other title. And, for this reason it is that they are called Maccabees, though other extravagant reasons have been imagined by men of excellent learning. For, it is to be observed, that all those that suffered as well as fought in this cause, are called Maccabees, no less than Judas Maccabæus; and therefore, the histories of their acts are called "the Books of the Maccabees," in which is comprised as well the story of the mother and the seven children, and others that suffered for the law, as the acts of Judas and his successors: and Josephus's book, in praise of that mother and her children, is entitled εἰς τοὺς Μακκαβαίους. The reason of which is found in the Syriac, in which language מקבו signifieth Zelotes, as you have it in Ferrarius's "Nomenclator Syriacus." And that this was the title of their arms, is more manifest by the case of the Jews under Caligula, when, out of his madness, he commanded to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. For as by "Philo de Legatione ad Caium," we understand that they were willing to undergo anything, and continue in obedience, so they might enjoy their religion; so Josephus dissembleth not in the relation of that business, (Antiq. xviii. 11), that they would have taken arms rather than endure it, if Caligula had not been slain in the meantime.

The clearing of this difficulty is to be fetched from the difference between the law and the gospel, expressed in the words of our Lord to his disciples, that required

him to call for fire from heaven upon those that would not entertain him (Luke ix. 55, 56): "Ye know not of what spirit ye are: for the Son of man is not sent to destroy men's souls," that is, their lives, "but to save them." For "the law worketh wrath;" and, "where there is no law, there is no transgression;" and, "by law is the knowledge of sins," saith the apostle. (Rom. iv. 15; iii. 20; vii. 7.) Therefore, the law suffered him that was next of kin to any man that was slain, to kill him that slew him, before it was judged whether he was slain by chance or by malice. (Num. xxxv. 16.) Therefore the law commanded him that was tempted to idolatry, to seek the death of him that tempted him, were he his father or never so near of kin. (Deut. xiii. 6-11.) In fine, the law being the condition of a temporal estate, assigned at first by God to the people of Israel, observing it, can there be any marvel that it might be lawful for that people to defend it by force, and by that defence to regain the same estate? Or will this draw any consequence in Christianity, to make it lawful to take arms upon the title thereof, and so to hold estates of this world by the same title, in case those arms take effect? For the gospel is the condition of life everlasting, promised to those that embrace it, including the cross of Christ, and therefore renouncing all advantage of this world, and equally belonging to all people, and therefore maintaining all in the same estate of this world which it finds. Therefore the zeal of Elias, when he punished with fire from heaven those that attempted to seize him at the unjust command

of an idolatrous king, our Lord declares not to suit with the spirit of the gospel (the profession thereof being to take up Christ's cross, and to bear it with patience), though under the law it might be commendable. Whereunto agreeth that which I said before, that heresy and schism, upon causes only contrary to Christianity, and that are not against the law of nature and nations, are no capital crimes in Christian states; and that instead of death, which the law inflicteth upon him that obeyeth not the consistory, but causeth schism, the punishment allotted by the gospel is, only to be least in the kingdom of heaven. For if sovereign powers, lawfully established, being Christian, are not enabled by their Christianity to inflict death on the said crimes, when, setting aside Christianity, they are not liable to it, much less is any man, under a sovereign power, enabled by his Christianity to use the sword, wherein sovereignty consists, for the maintenance of it.

Neither is it contrary to this, that, under the gospel, St. Peter punishes Ananias and Sapphira with death; and the apostles, as I showed before, were endowed with a miraculous power of inflicting bodily punishment upon those which obeyed them not; the effects whereof were seen upon those whom they cast out of the Church, as also upon Elimas, struck with blindness by St. Paul, for resisting his gospel. Not that the souls under the altar (Apoc. vi. 10), pray for the vengeance of their blood to be showed upon the inhabitants of the earth. For that which this prophetical vision representeth, is to be understood suitably to

Christianity, and to the kingdom of God attained by it. Since, therefore, revenge is contrary to the principles of Christianity, we cannot imagine that blessed souls desire it; but the cry which they make must be understood to be the provocation of God to vengeance, which their sufferings produce; so much more pertinently attributed to blessed souls, inasmuch as, being acquainted with God's councils,they approve and rejoice in his justice, and the advancement of his Church by the means of it. Now the power granted the apostles, of inflicting bodily punishments upon those that disobeyed them, tended first to manifest that God was present in the Church, and, by consequence, to subued the world to Christianity, and to win authority to the Church and the censures of it; whereas Elias, when he called for fire from heaven, as the apostles desired our Lord, might have been secured himself by the like miracles, without destroying his enemies. So he caused Baal's priests to be put to death, not to vindicate the cause in debate, which was already done by a miracle, but to do vengeance on them as malefactors; and so Elizeus curseth the children to death, on purpose to punish the affront offered his person. In all which particulars you have manifest characters of the law, inflicting death for the punishment of sin; whereas, under the gospel, which giveth life, the inflicting of bodily punishment serveth to procure the good of the world, by manifesting the truth of the gospel, and the presence of God in his Church, which was known and supposed under the law, because those who had received the law, could not make any ques-

tion that God was amongst his people, and spoke to them by his prophets.

When I say that it might be lawful to take arms upon the title of religion under the law, I say not that it was so in all cases, or that it was not lawful for the Jews to be subject to foreign powers (which was the doctrine of Judas of Galilee, complained of by Josephus), but that it was possible for some case to fall out wherein it might be lawful. As for the conceit of Judas of Galilee, it is manifestly taken away by God's command to the Jews under Nabuchodonosor (Jer. xxix. 7): "Seek the peace of the city to which I have sent you captives, for in the peace thereof you shall have peace." And it is most remarkable, that our Lord, being falsely accused of this doctrine to Pilate, by the Jews, it pleased God to suffer it so far to prevail afterwards, that the arms which they took afterwards against the Romans, and the miseries which they endured by the Zelotes, and finally, the ruin of the city, temple and nation, must needs be imputed to this doctrine, which they falsely accused our Lord of, to gain the good will of the Romans. But of Christianity it must be said, on the contrary, that there is no case possible, wherein it can be just to take away life, for preservation or reformation of it, upon the title thereof, that is to say, where there is not a power of bearing arms, established by some other title of human right. For where there is any such power and right established, upon a title which the law of nations justifieth, it is not to be said, that Christianity voideth or extinguisheth the

same, seeing it hath been said, it preserveth the state of this world upon the same terms in which they are when it is embraced; but nevertheless it moderateth the use of it, so that it cannot, with Christianity, be employed in very many cases, in which the law of nature and nations justifies the use of it.

These things thus premised, it will be easy to show, that the Presbyterians offer wrong, when they demand that the superiority of bishops over presbyters be proved to be of Divine right, by some precept of God's law, recorded in the Scriptures: supposing that, otherwise, it will be in the secular power of itself to erect an ecclesiastical power, by taking it from them that have it, and giving it to them that have it not, and requiring that so it be done. For it is notorious to the world, that, from the beginning, they claimed that presbyteries should be erected instead of the government of the Church of England, upon this ground, that the presbyteries are commanded by God, and that therefore the superiority of bishops, as contrary to his law, is to be abolished; and that upon this pretence, the people were drawn in to seek the innovation endeavoured at this time. So that to require now that it be proved, that the superiority of bishops is commanded by God to be unchangeable by men, otherwise, that it be changed, is to require that the conclusion may stand, without any premises to prove it. Notwithstanding, to pass by this advantage, suppose we the superiority of bishops neither forbidden nor commanded, but introduced by ecclesiastical right, grounded upon the

power given the Church, of giving laws to the Church, by determining that which God's law determineth not; supposing, but not granting, this to be true, it will remain, nevertheless, without the compass of any secular power upon earth to erect this ecclesiastical power, by taking it from them which have it, and giving it to them which have it not. For, whereso-ever there is a Church, and the government thereof not contrary to God's law, in those hands which have it by man's, there the apostle's precept of obeying the governors of the Church (1 Thess. v. 12; Heb. xiii. 17) must needs oblige the people to those go-vernors that are established not against God's law. And this precept of the apostle being of that Divine right by which Christianity subsisteth, cannot be voided by any secular power, by which the Church subsisteth not, in point of right, but only is main-tained in point of fact. For the obligation which they have to the Church, and the unity thereof, and the order by which that unity is preserved, and the government in which that order consisteth, being more ancient than the maintenance of Christianity by the state, cannot be taken away by any obligation or interest thereupon arising; and therefore, as the first Christians that were under Christian powers, in the time of Constantine, were bound to adhere to the pastors which they had by the law of the Church (for which reason neither did Constantine, Constan-tius, or Valens, ever endeavour to intrude those bishops, which they were seduced to think necessary for the quiet of some Churches, being indeed danger-

ous to Christianity, by their own power, but by a pretended legal act of the Church), after Constantine took Christianity into the protection of the empire, upon the same terms as afore: so are all Christians, to the world's end, obliged to adhere to the pastors which they shall have by the law of the Church, not contrary to God's law, against the command of any secular power to obey others. And to demand that ecclesiastical power, not contrary to God's law, be dissolved by secular, to which the persons endowed therewith are subjects, is to demand that there remain no Christians in England, that can be content to suffer for their Christianity, by obeying God's law before man's, especially when they can obey both, acting by God's, and suffering by man's.

But, though I insist upon this right of the Church, yet it is not my purpose to baulk the fruits of the divine right of bishops, upon such terms as it hath been asserted; that is to say, as that which no man may lawfully destroy, though not as that which, being destroyed, voideth the being of a Church (if it can be done without schism), because not commanded particular Christians, as the substance of Christianity, but the society of the Church, for the maintenance and support of it. For if no secular power be able to give that power to the presbyteries, which must be taken from the bishops, supposing that the superiority of bishops stands neither by nor against the law of God, but only by the law of the Church, according to God's; how much more, when it is demonstrated that it subsisteth by the act of the apostles, shall it be

without the compass of any secular power to dissolve it? And therefore, the consequence hereof, in the present state of Christianity among us, is further to be deduced, because many men may be persuaded of their obligation to the Church, upon supposition of the divine right of bishops, who perhaps perceive not the former reason of their obligation to them here asserted, as to the ordinary pastors of the Church.

To proceed then, out of the premises, to frame a judgment of the state and condition of Christianity in England at the present, and from that judgment to conclude, what they that will preserve the conscience of good Christians are to do or to avoid, in maintaining the society and communion of the Church. Put the case, that an ecclesiastical power be claimed and used, upon some persuasions contrary to the substance of true Christianity, and pretending thereby to govern those that adhere to the same persuasion, in the communion of those ordinances, which God requireth to be served with, by his Church, according to the same persuasion: I suppose, no man will deny this to be the crime of heresy,—containing not only a persuasion contrary to the foundation of faith, but also an ecclesiastical power founded upon it, and thereby a separation from the communion of the Church, which acknowledgeth not the same. Put the case again, that an ecclesiastical power is claimed and used, not upon a persuasion contrary to anything immediately necessary to the salvation of all Christians, (as the foundation of faith, and all that belongeth to it, is), but upon a persuasion contrary to something

necessary to the society of the whole Church, as commanded by our Lord Christ, or his apostles, to be regulated thereby; and this, with a pretence to govern those that adhere to the same persuasion, in the communion of all ecclesiastical ordinances, according to it; this I cannot see how it can be denied to be the crime of schism. And this, God be blessed that I cannot say it is done in England, but, in consequence to the premises, I must say, that this is it which hath been, and is endeavoured to be done in it, and therefore to be avoided by all that will not communicate in an act of schism. I do not deny that presbyters have an interest in the power of the keys, and by consequence in all parts of ecclesiastical power, being all the productions thereof; but I have shewed, that their interest is in dependence upon their respective bishops, without whom, by the ordinance of the apostles, and the practice of all Churches, that are not parties in this cause, nothing is to be done. When as, therefore, presbyters, dividing among themselves the eminent power of their bishops, presume to manage it without acknowledgment of them; out of an opinion, that the eminence of their power is contrary to the ordinance of our Lord and his apostles; or, that, not being contrary to the same, it is lawful for presbyters to take it out of the hands, either of bishops or of simple presbyters, had they been so possessed of it: When, as they join with themselves some of the people, in the quality of lay elders, or whatever they will have them called, and of these constitute consistories for all several congre-

gations, endowed with the power of the keys over the same, though in dependence upon greater assemblies, out of the opinion that this is the ordinance of our Lord and his apostles; and this, not to manage the interest of the people, that nothing pass contrary to the laws given the Church by God, which are their inheritance as well as the clergy's, but, in a number double to that of the presbyters in all consistories, and in a right equal to them, man for man: so that it may truly be said, that the whole power of the clergy and people is vested in these lay elders, that one quality consenting, being able to conclude the whole: When as the determination, who shall or shall not be admitted to communion, returneth at last to a number of secular persons, making them thereby judges of the laws of Christianity, and enabling them thereby, to give and take away the ecclesiastical being of any member of the Church, in those cases to which that power extendeth, and investing a civil court with the power of the keys in the same: (all these points being members of the ordinance for the establishment of the Presbyteries): I say then, that, by that ordinance, an ecclesiastical power is erected, upon so many persuasions, of things concerning the public order of the society of the Church, contrary to the laws given the Church by our Lord and his apostles, by a secular power, interested only in point of fact, in Church matters, without any ground of right to do it; and that, therefore, the endeavouring to establish these presbyteries is an act of schism, which particular Christians, though they never, by any ex-

press act of their own, tied themselves to be subject to bishops, are nevertheless bound not to communicate in, because they are bound upon their salvation to maintain the unity of the Church, and the unity of the Church established upon these laws, whereof the succession of bishops is one.

As for the design of the Congregations, it is easily perceived to come to this effect; that, to the intent that Christian people may be tied to no laws, but such as the spirit of God which is in them convinces them to be established upon the Church by the Scripture; and that thereupon the ordering of all matters concerning the society of the Church, may proceed upon convictions of every man's judgment: therefore, every congregation of Christians, assembling to the service of God, to be absolute and independent on any other part, or the whole Church, the power being vested in the members of the said congregation, under the authority of the pastor and elders, as aforesaid. And, that therefore, every congregation constituting itself a Church, constitutes by consequence, and destitutes pastors, elders, and members; so that, by this design, an ecclesiastical power being erected upon so many persuasions, contrary to the laws given the Church by our Lord and his apostles; the act of schism is more visible. Though, for the claim and title, by which this ecclesiastical power is erected in both ways, that of the Congregations is more suitable to Christianity, (because that of the Presbyteries more forcible), both [are] equally destructive to the right of the Church. For, that a parliament, by which power the Assembly of

Divines was called, (not disputing now the power of a parliament in England, but supposing it to be as great for the purpose, as any Christian state can exercise), should erect an ecclesiastical power, by taking it from those that have it, and giving it to those that have it not, is without the sphere of any power which stands not by the constitution of the Church. For, if the Church subsisted before any secular power was Christian, by a power vested in our Lord and his apostles, extending it in one visible society, beyond the bounds of any dominion, with equal interest in the parts of it through several dominions, what title, but force, can any state have to do it, if we presuppose the society of the Church, as such, unable to do it? Therefore, by the society of the Church, and by Christians as members thereof, it must be done, whatsoever is done, either in reforming the Church, or in separating from the Church. And therefore the proceeding of the Congregations, when they separate from the Church of England, by a right founded upon the constitution of the Church, is more agreeable to Christianity, than the proceeding of the Presbyteries, when they pretend to reform the Church of England, by the power of the parliament, supposing it to be as great as any secular power can be in Church matters.

But I intend not hereby to grant that it is a rightful title, upon which those of the Congregations separate from the Church of England. For, as men cannot make themselves Christians, but the doing of it must presuppose a Church, as at the first it presupposed the power of constituting a Church, estated

by our Lord and upon his apostles; (because our Lord hath required of those that will be saved, not only to believe his gospel, but also to profess Christianity, and this profession to be consigned in the hands of those whom he trusteth with the conduct of his Church, and by them accepted, because if not sincere and complete, it is not to be admitted); so, the continuance in the communion of the Church, presupposing an acknowledgment of the Christianity professed therein, to contain nothing destructive to salvation, professeth an obligation of acknowledging the governors thereof, in order to the same. And this obligation unavoidable, by the premises, unless Christian people, by those governors appear to be defeated of the benefit of such laws, given the Church by our Lord and his apostles, as appear to be of greater consequence to the service of God, for which the society of the Church subsists, than the personal succession of governors, and the unity of the Church, wherein it consisteth, can be imagined to be. Which in our present case is so far from being true, that the premises being true, all the particulars, for which the Congregations separate, and which the Presbyteries would reform, the chief power of the clergy over the people, the superiority of bishops above presbyters, the dependence of congregations upon the city Church, the power of giving laws to the Church, the right of first-fruits, tithes, and all consecrate things, and above all, the unity of the Church, and the personal succession of governors in which it consisteth, are all demonstrated to have been ordained by the apostles. The

same is to be said of the ceremonies, as to the whole kind, though not to the particulars questioned. For first, it is proved, that the rule of charity requires all Christians to forbear the use of that freedom which Christianity alloweth, in all things determined by the law of the Church, not contrary to God's. Secondly, though it be granted, that the particulars questioned were not instituted by the apostles (for, indeed, the customs of several nations, that have received Christianity, are so different, that, for example, that which the apostle commandeth, "that men pray covered" (1 Cor. xi. 3), cannot be used among those nations that uncover the head in sign of reverence, which the ancients did not: and this is the true reason, why the same ceremonies of Divine service are not in use now as under the apostles), yet whosoever shall separate from the Church upon this ground, that significative ceremonies are not to be used in the service of God, shall do it to establish a law contrary to the apostles, who ordained such to be used, as I showed afore. Besides, the Church of England, and governors thereof, do not maintain any infallible power of conducting the Church, professing themselves the reformation which their predecessors made; and therefore are so far from refusing any law of God to be a law of this Church, that if any human constitution had been recommended to them (evidently necessary or useful to make the laws of our Lord and his apostles effectual to this particular Church), by such an authority as the secular power hath over them, it is visible to all English, that, for the peace of the Church

and themselves, they would not have refused it. And therefore, the true reason of this separation or reformation is, because they will not part with that power, which is in them derived from the apostles, and at once with the unity of the Church, necessarily, in this case, depending on the same.

I suppose, what will be answered, that all this is done to reform the Church, to bring in plentiful and powerful preaching, and praying as the spirit shall indite. For, not knowing any thing else to be pretended, and having showed the rest of the change to be contrary to the ordinances of the apostles, (though I see no man is so hard-hearted, as not to think his own design to be the reformation of the Church, without ever proving it to be so), yet I must needs think it part of my charge to say somewhat also to this. I do acknowledge, then, a charge upon the Church, to provide that Christians, made members of the Church by baptism, be taught more and more in the true intent of their Christianity, and exhorted to the performance of it, by virtue of the precept of our Lord (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20): "Go preach, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you:" which, being given the apostles, is, by the same reason, given to all whom they should assume, or ordain, or cause to be ordained, to exercise their power, or any part of it, in dependence upon the same, and according as the same should determine in time or place. But that anything is determined, as of

divine right, or by the Scriptures, when, where, how often, how seldom, in what manner, and how frequent preaching is, by the Church, to be furnished to the Church, he will make himself ridiculous that undertakes to affirm. That the Church is to endeavour, that this office be as frequent as be to the edification of the Church, appears indeed by the Scriptures: not those which speak of "publishing the Gospel," under the terms of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι or κηρύσσειν, or any equivalent (as Rom. x. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 2, 5; 1 Cor. ix. 16), but those that express the diligence of the apostles and apostolical persons of their time, in teaching the assemblies of Christians (Acts ii. 42, 46; v. 42; vi. 2, 4; xi. 26), and the frequenting of this office in those times (1 Cor. xiv; 1 Tim. v. 17; Rom. xii. 6, 7). But that it should be so easy for them, that now are admitted to the service of the Church, to preach continually, so as to edify the Church by their preaching, as it was for apostles, apostolical persons, and prophets, is not for a reasonable man to imagine. And those that stand so much upon preaching twice every Lord's day, would find themselves at a marvelous exigent, if they should prove, either the necessity of it, in point of right, by the Scriptures, or the utility of it, in point of fact, by the abilities of the men whom themselves set about it. As for prayer, I yield that it is a precept of God, that the prayers of Christian congregations be presented to God by the presbyters. But what prayers? None but those which the Eucharist was celebrated with, of which I spoke afore. All the world will never show any title in

the Scriptures, or the original practice of the Church, to prove that the apostles ordained these prayers before or after the sermons of presbyters, which are now made the greatest part of the exercise of Christianity, unless it be because the sermon went before the Eucharist, as Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xiv. 16. The prayers which the presbyters offer to God in behalf of the Church, being, by the institution of the apostles, only those which the Eucharist is celebrated with. I acknowledge that, under the apostles, the prayers of the Church were not prescribed, but conceived by those that were employed in that office by the Church; but, in consideration of the prophetical revelations and immediate inspirations, which the persons employed about that office were then graced with, to show the truth of Christianity, and the presence of God in the Church. And therefore, since those graces ceased, I have showed, in the "Apostolical Form of Divine Service," p. 348, that those prayers of the Church which went not with the Eucharist, were ministered by deacons, because it was found necessary that both the one and the other should be done in a prescript form, to avoid the scandals of Christianity that we see come by referring it to all persons that are trusted to officiate public service. And I am astonished that any Christian should imagine, that God should be pleased with the conceptions of the mind, or expressions of the tongue (setting aside the affection of the heart) that any man prays with. But now, by the pretence on foot, which makes the exercise of Christianity consist in a sermon, and a prayer conceived

before or after it; not only the celebration of the Eucharist, which the apostles ordained to be as frequent as the prayers of the presbyters, and which the Church of England recommends on all Sundays and festivals, is turned out of doors, to three or four times a year; but also all the public service of God, by prayer, reading the Scriptures, and the praises of God, forbidden when the preacher's mouth opens not; and by referring the form of prayer and matter of doctrine to each man's discretion, the exercise of religion is turned into a lecture of state, infused into the conscience of the hearers, by desiring of God the interest of that faction for which a man preaches. And by this means, they that do challenge to themselves the title of apostles, when they style themselves *ministers of Christ and of the gospel*, are now discovered, by their adversaries of the Congregations, to be ministers of that power which set them up, as indeed they must needs be, when a double number of votes in their presbyteries is able to cast them out of the Church, if they prove not faithful ministers.

The ruin of Christianity is yet greater in going about to reform religion by the sword, and taking up arms upon the title of Christianity, whether it be pretended or not. For, they that say, that the Christians of Tertullian's time, would have defended themselves by force against the persecutions of the Roman emperors if they had been able, must needs say, that Christians may and ought to defend themselves upon the title of their Christianity, as both Buchanan and Bellarmine by consequence must do,

when they say, that the reason why St. Paul commands Christians to be subject to secular powers of his time was, because they were not able to resist. But I do remember to have read in Burroughs's "Lectures on Hosea," (which I speak to do him right), that the title of this war is not grounded on religion, as religion, but as professed by this kingdom; which, I conceive, cannot be said by those that advance the covenant, or allow two clauses of it. The first, when it promiseth "to maintain the King's person and estate in maintenance of religion." For, if the maintenance of the state be limited within the condition of religion, then it is professed by consequence, that the sovereign power of the state is not to be maintained when religion is not maintained by it, which if it did maintain, religion were to be maintained. Therefore religion is the ground upon which those that enter into the covenant undertake to maintain one another, without any exception in the maintenance of the same. Therefore that war is made upon the title of religion, which maintains not the state but in the maintenance of it. The second, when it saith, that this is done, "that those which groan under the yoke of antichrist may be moved to do the like." Which, belonging to the subjects of popish princes, professeth religion to be the title of those arms, which all of like religion may use, whatever the state be, under which they live. Now would I fain know of any friend of the covenant, what is the difference between it and the holy league of France under Henry the Third, as to this point and in this regard?

There is, indeed, difference enough between the subjects in which the two leagues suppose religion to consist, and there is as much in the rule of the same which both suppose: but as to the right which religion introduceth, of maintaining itself by force, both covenants agree in supposing it. And thereby found temporal right upon the grace of Christianity, contrary to that which I presuppose from the beginning, seeing whatsoever is purchased by such arms, is the production of that title under which they are borne. True it is, that religion is not the only title of that league or this covenant, both of them pretending as well abuse in government. But it is to be considered on the other side, that these two titles are not subordinate but concurrent; that is, that this right of maintaining religion by force of arms, riseth from the truth of religion in itself presupposed, and not by the establishment of religion by the laws of any state, for the religion of the same: because not by that power by which these laws were made. And therefore by consequence, makes those that take arms, and join in covenant, supreme judges of all that is questioned in religion; which being of much more consideration to all Christians, than the good estate of any commonwealth, though both titles concur in this war, yet it would be possible, that war might be made upon the title of religion alone, contrary to the premises.

The learned Casaubon once called the doctrine of Gregory VII, Pope, when he undertook to deprive Christian princes of their estates, because they stood

excommunicate, "*Hæresim Hildebrandinam*,"—the heresy of pope Hildebrand: and not without cause. For seeing the foundation of Christianity consisteth in things to be done, as well as things to be believed, and that the sum of that which Christians profess to do, consists in bearing Christ's cross, how shall he be other than an heretic, that renounceth the profession of Christ's cross? Or how can he be understood to profess Christ's cross, that holds anything purchased by the arms which are borne upon the title of Christianity? For as all is his that conquers in lawful arms, so cannot he be understood to renounce all for Christ's cross, that holds anything by it, which he is bound to maintain, with the title whereby he holds it. Thus that pope is not unjustly called an heretic by some; as heresy imports a vice of a particular man's mind, not a sect in the society of the Church; seeing it cannot be said that this position is enjoined, though suffered in the Church of Rome, as it must be said of that Church, the society whereof, and the power which governeth that society, subsisteth by arms grounded on Christianity. Therefore, supposing an ecclesiastical power, and by consequence a Church constituted by force used upon this ground, it would be hard to clear it of heresy, the constitution whereof cannot stand with the profession of Christ's cross.

But not to aggravate consequences, seeing it is manifest, that all errors in religion overthrow the foundation by consequence, but to show what regret I have to say that which I must not conceal, I will advance the only possible expedient that I can imagine,

to restore the unity of the Church among us. For that of a national synod, which is most obvious and plausible, seems to me impossible to be used lawfully and effectually both in our case. I am not so faintly in love with the cause which I expose myself to so much offence to maintain, as to make a question how the Church of England were to be re-established if right might take place, that is, by re-estating the synod thereof in full possession of that right, which hereby I have proved that they are ousted of only by force. But I speak now upon supposition, that there is force on their side that refuse this right, upon opinions contrary to the same, and with an intent to advance a course, by which it may be discerned how far the Church of England may abate of the right, which is denied only by force, for so good a purpose, as to reconcile unto it those who may otherwise fall into Churches in name, but schisms indeed. And in this case my reason is, because those who challenge the right of a synod must proceed as authorised to judge between, or rather to give law to all parties: now, being divided as we are, between right and force, or the opinion of either or both, it is not imaginable, that either those that think themselves to have right can, or those that think themselves to have force, will submit to receive sentence or law from their adversaries, unless we think them either no men, to change their judgment when they come to have power on their side, or no Christians, to acknowledge that to be right, which they are assured is not. What remains, then, to restore peace, when no party can

yield? Surely, in all bodily diseases, those parts and principles, and elements of nature which remain untainted, must be the means to recover the whole: and in this distemper of the Church, so much of Christianity as remains commonly acknowledged by all parties, rightly husbanded, may serve to reunite them in one, upon better intelligence. And the despair which any party ought to have, of reducing the rest to themselves, ought to persuade all to condescend to this good husbandry. What remains, then, common to all parts, beside the profession of Christianity and the Scriptures, to agree them about the meaning and consequences of them, in matters questionable, being that which remains in debate? Could I say that all parts acknowledged, that which the Church, from the beginning, everywhere, hath received and used to be agreeable to the Scripture, I should think the business half done: but since it is otherwise, we must have recourse to a more remote ground, or principle, which may serve for a reason to produce those consequences which follow from the said rule, in matters in debate, seeing we pretend not to make a rule without cause. And this must be, by examining the first motives of Christianity, for what reasons we undertake the profession of it, which, being well rendered, and shot home to the mark, will not fail either to decide anything in controversy, or to show that it concerns no man's Christianity that it be decided. Now, the only means to bring forth and discharge these reasons to public satisfaction, is an open and free conference, for space of time, or

persons, executed by persons advanced by the several parties, to improve what any man can bring forth, to the clearing of anything in debate, and managed by persons chosen for their discretion, to keep the debate from wandering, till all be said to all points. For, seeing it must needs appear, what are the terms of agreement, when all reasons are spent, it will be lawful for those in whom rests the succession of the apostles, and all claiming under them, to consent to estate the ecclesiastical power, and the ministry of ecclesiastical offices, upon persons to be agreed upon according to terms agreed: and this consent as effectual to reunite the Church, as ever anciently schisms were lawfully restored to the Church, by admitting bishops, presbyters, deacons, and people, to communicate in their own ranks, and making good all acts done in separation, by subsequent consent, not as to God, but as to the Church, which I have shewed afore was many times done. As for those which have used this power already, they shall condescend no further by this agreement, but to use that part of it, which shall be limited them by the agreement, upon an unquestionable title for the future.

But, if our sins be still so powerful, as not to suffer a lawful course to take place, let me admonish those infinite numbers of Christian souls, that sigh and groan after the unity of the Church, what means God shews them to discharge the conscience of good Christians to him, while the temporal laws of the state, which ought to actuate it, do suspend their office: which are, in effect, the persons of those in

whom the succession of the apostles is vested, and the clergy claiming under them: and that general law of Christianity, (for which those things which we insist upon cannot be quitted) of sticking to all that the Church originally, always, everywhere, hath professed and used. From them let them seek the communion of the Church, not only in the exercise of such Christian ordinances, as men, cast upon desert coasts, and utterly destitute of ecclesiastical society for the present, (for so our distractions have made us), can participate in, but also, in such acts of the power of the keys, as pass not the inward court of the conscience. Neither let them ever think themselves necessitated to communicate with schism, while the law which is the source of all laws, and the persons which are the seed of all public persons of the Church continue. And let them know further, that in adhering to the society of a Church never so much destroyed by force, no secular power, whether lawful or unlawful, shall ever have more rightful title to persecute them, than the Roman emperors had to persecute the apostles and primitive Christians; part of their profession being, not to defend themselves by force grounded upon the title of Christianity, but to suffer with patience what force shall inflict for it. Which doing, as the purchase is not of this world, so let them not doubt to find the effect of the promises which are to come.

END OF THE DISCOURSE.

A REVIEW

OF THE

FOREGOING DISCOURSE.

CHAPTER I.

SINCE the writing of this Discourse, I have understood by relation, and by some pamphlets, that there is one opinion on foot among the many of this time, that there is no such thing as a society of the Church, by the ordinance of our Lord, and the institution of his apostles; that, wheresoever we read of the Church in the Scriptures, there we are to understand no more, but only a number of men that are Christians, who may or ought to assemble together for the service of God as they find opportunity and means; but, that there should be thought to be any condition of communicating in the service of God, which should make all Christians a society called the Church, as excluding those that are not qualified with it, this they think to be an imposture that hath made way for antichrist. And though this opinion be so groundless, that very few readers will expect any opposition to be made; yet, because my intent was, by this discourse, to improve the reasons heretofore advanced,

and to try the effect and consequence of them in destroying the grounds of the divisions framed among us; and because, if that which I propound be the truth, it will, with a little husbanding, be effectual to convince all manner of errors; it will be requisite here to give notice, that all the reasons which this first chapter produceth to prove the power of the keys, and the punishment of excommunication, the effect thereof, to belong to the Church, are effectual to prove the society of the Church, which this power constitutes, and therefore the effect thereof evidenceth. And truly, though there is an infinite distance between the productions and consequences of this opinion, and that of Erastus, (inasmuch as this manifestly tendeth to challenge to all Christians freedom of doing what they please in the exercise of their Christianity, without any account to the state under which they live; that of Erastus challenging to the state all power to govern all Christians in their Christianity), yet, if we consider the ground on which both stand, they will appear to be as the rivers that rise out of Apenninus, which empty themselves, some into the sea of Tuscany, others into the gulf of Venice. For, I suppose, every man's common reason will furnish him so much of the metaphysics, as to make it appear that every thing which hath a being, is by that being distinct from other beings; so that, if there be no difference between the society of the Church, and that of the state, when it professes Christianity, but that both make one community, corporation, or commonwealth, as that of the ancient

people of God under the law; then is there no society of a Church when the state is Christian, seeing it is agreed upon on all hands that there is one of the state, and this opinion enforces that there is no more but one. True it is that there are two things to say, either that before Constantine, the power of excommunication stood only by human right, that is, by custom of the Church, or that by the ordinance of our Lord and his apostles, it was to stand only before Christianity were received by kingdoms and commonwealths, but afterwards, the power of governing the Church, hitherto in the body of the Church, to be dissolved into the secular power of the state. But whether this or that, in all cases he that taketh away the power of the keys in opening and that of excommunication in shutting up the Church, must needs appear to take away the society and communion of a Church, either because it never was, or because it ceaseth when the state becomes Christian. This consideration improves very much the reasons of this chapter against Erastus, making his opinion liable to all those Scriptures which acknowledge a society of the Church, and the sense of all Christians which suppose the same; and deserveth here to be represented, because it may be observed, that the proceeding of the discourse did not give leave to press it to this effect. For, the intent of it being to limit the concurrence of secular and ecclesiastical power in Church matters, it was necessary to declare in the first place, upon what ground God hath instituted the society of the Church by revelation from above, having

before constituted civil societies of the same persons whereof the Church consisteth by the law of nature and nations, and the operation of his ordinary providence. Especially, seeing that Christianity addresseth itself to all nations, and therefore intendeth to constitute one Church of all civil societies which embrace the same. For, seeing it is manifest, that religion hath always been a very general title of many wars and commotions against the public peace, and that therefore all states must needs be jealous of that religion which asks no leave of the state to believe what it believes, but professes an obligation of believing, though never so contrary to the laws of the state, it appears to have been requisite, that there should be in Christianity some condition that might clear it from this jealousy; especially, because one society of the Church, consisting of the persons which constitute many states, must needs be concluded in point of conscience, by a power of the Church not derived from that of the state, and so, possibly, the subjects of a state be concluded in conscience by strangers to that state, as they are members of the Church. This is the difficulty, which was to be removed in the beginning of this Discourse, that it might appear no ways prejudicial to civil societies, that God should institute one society of the Church, to consist of all persons of several states that profess Christianity. And, the removing of this difficulty consists in the right understanding of Christ's cross, and the profession of it, which is the substance of Christianity. For, if we be called to the cross of

Christ by our Christianity, we cannot thereby be called to any advantage, estate, or profession of this world, which we have not by our quality in the state. And when it is said that temporal dominion is not founded in grace, it is as much as if it were said that it is not founded in Christianity, because the great grace of God in giving Christ, is the ground of all other grace tending to life everlasting. Now, if Christianity import no right, no interest, no advantage of this world, but maintaineth the state of this world in the same condition which it findeth when the world embraces Christianity, because it obligeth all men to yield obedience to sovereign powers, (which maintain all men in possession of their rights) for conscience sake, then is the difficulty removed, neither can it be prejudicial to states, that the persons whereof they consist, are called by God to a society of the Church, subsisting by the grant and patent of God, and not of any state.

If it be thus, the question will be asked, in the next place, how a society of men can subsist in this world, without any privilege or right of this world? and, seeing it must be the grant of some privilege from God, which the world gives not, that must make the Church a society, community, corporation, or spiritual commonwealth,—what this privilege is, and where it consisteth? For, to the constitution of this society there goes more than to believe the faith with the heart, which, being of itself invisible, cannot be sufficient to constitute the society of the Church, which must be visible: more than to profess Chris-

tianity to the world; for so do they, we see, that dispute that there is no such thing as any society of the Church, because they suppose not that Christianity obligeth them to communicate in the public service of God, and the ordinances wherein it consisteth: but, this being supposed, together with the condition upon which men are admitted to Christianity, as the condition upon which they communicate in the same, there needs nothing else to make the Church such a society as we speak of. It may perhaps seem strange that this privilege of holding assemblies for the public service of God, and the obligation which all Christians are under of communicating in the same, should be advanced for the ground upon which all the right of the Church standeth, seeing it is but collected by consequence, and not expressly laid down in the Scriptures, that there is such a precept or privilege. For, that this is the ground upon which the society of the Church standeth, and the source from whence all the right thereof issueth, is not matter of faith or salvation, but of theological discourse, by consequence of reason to be drawn out of the Scripture, without which, they may be as good Christians, which, without it, cannot acquit themselves of those difficulties which he that knoweth the grounds from whence the rights of the Church by consequence of reasoning be deduced, shall be able to resolve. Here then we have a privilege, because granted by God against all the powers of the world, not as to use any force of this world to defend ourselves in it, for then should the power of the sword depend upon the con-

stitution of the Church; but as to God, to secure Christians in conscience to God, in case they disobey the powers of the world, to whom they are always bound to be subject, when they forbid them to communicate in the service of God at the assemblies of the Church, which God commandeth: but no privilege of this world which counts it no advantage to suffer for that duty to God, which flesh and blood could spare with ease. And, by virtue of this patent, or charter-privilege from God, the Church is constituted a visible society and community of all Christians, though to an invisible purpose. It will not be out of the way to remember here a passage of Pliny's Epistles, (x. 97), by which it may appear how the assemblies of the Church were forbidden by the Romans, when he says that the apostate Christians pleaded for themselves, that they had not frequented the assemblies of the Church, since that, (according to the instructions of Trajan), he had by his edict interdicted corporations, which he calls *hetærias*, and the laws *collegia*, or colleges. (Digest xlvii. 23.) For, seeing on the one side Tertullian, (De Jejunio, cap. xiii.) argueth upon supposition that the assemblies of Christians were not against the laws when he writ; on the other side, it appears by the Laws 1 and 3 ff. "De collegiis et corporibus," that the emperors, by their instructions to the governors of provinces, and the senate by their decrees, did make such societies unlawful as often as they found cause; it seems that, so often as they pleased, they comprised the Christians within those laws; and that, when the Christians

were comprised in those laws, their assemblies were thereby interdicted, as they were by Pliny's edict. Josephus truly (Antiq. xiv. 17) recordeth a decree of Julius Cæsar, by which he declareth that, when he interdicted other societies of that nature, he excepted the assemblies of the Jews; so that, since it appears that for divers years after the death of our Lord, the Christians went for Jews without distinction at Rome, it is probable that at the first they were not inquired into by any law of this kind, because the Jews were not liable to the like. But that, when they were inquired into, they held themselves tied to assemble, notwithstanding these laws, appears by Pliny, because it is manifest that those who pleaded for themselves, that they had left the assemblies of the Church, were apostates. This privilege of holding assemblies, granted Christianity by divine right, on purpose to constitute the community of the Church, is supposed in that notable discourse of St. Paul, (Eph. iv. 4-16), wherein the apostle declareth, as I have shewed, (p. 177), that God hath appointed two sorts of graces in his Church, which may be distinguished by the terms of corporal and spiritual; corporal, in supporting the assemblies thereof by the goods of this world; and spiritual in edifying the Church to the perfection of Christianity, at those assemblies. So that the end of all the graces which God hath given his Church, being the edification of the Church, and the means of that edification, the frequentation of the assemblies thereof, and the condition of that means the unity of the Church, it must needs appear that the apostle supposeth a

society of the Church, because he argueth upon the means which God hath provided to maintain the visible assembles thereof in unity, so that all might be edified at those assemblies, to perfection in Christianity. For, seeing the unity of ecclesiastical assemblies importeth the communion of all Christians in all the offices of divine service, it is manifest that he which requireth the unity of ecclesiastical assemblies, supposeth a society of the Church to procure and maintain the same. But it is not this passage of St. Paul alone wherein this privilege is supposed, intimated or expressed, but wheresoever there is mention in any part of Scriptures, of any ordinance of the service of God, instituted or exercised at the assemblies of God's faithful people, (provided that it may appear otherwise by the Scripture, to be common to the law and the gospel), there you have the charter or patent of this grant and privilege, and, by consequence, of the society of the Church founded upon it.

But, though Erastus securely taketh it for granted, that Christian states have right to exercise their sovereign power in Church matters, because it was so in the Synagogue; yet I do not understand how he would convince them that at this time deny this consequence among us; seeing there is so much difference between the Law and the Gospel, between the Church and the Synagogue, that that which is held in the one, cannot be presumed to hold under the other, without a reason common to both. And so far as that reason prevails, and no further, must the

power and interest of states in Church matters be understood to prevail. And truly, there is a saying of St. Jerome's, which may justly move a tender spirit to doubt, whether this interest of states in Church matters be from God or not; for, seeing it is most true, and visible to experience, which he says, "Ecclesiam postquam cœpit habere Christianus magistratus, factam esse opibus majorem, virtutibus autem minorem." "That the Church, since it began to have Christian magistrates, is become greater in wealth or power, but less in virtue." And that it is a presumption in reason, that that which goeth before, is the cause of that which followeth upon it, when no other cause appeareth; well may it be doubted, that the interest of secular powers in Church matters is not from God; from which, so great a decay of Christianity proceedeth, which must not be imputed to anything which God hath appointed. To which agreeth that legend in the life of Pope Sylvester, which saith, that when Constantine had endowed the Church so largely, there was a voice from heaven heard to say, "Hodie venenum effusum est in Ecclesiam,"—"To-day is there poison poured out upon the Church." The reason then, which here I tender, upon which the kings of God's ancient people had that power in matters of religion, which by the Scriptures we know they did exercise, I hope will appear reasonable to them that have perused the fourth chapter, and seen, how it is not destructive, but cumulative to that, which, by the law, in matters of the law, is given to the Consistory. And, since it ac-

crued to the king, not by the law, because not constituted by it, but by the desire of the people, admitted, and assented unto by God, by which he became head of a people already in covenant with God, what difference is there between this case, and the case of a whole people, together with the powers of the same, converted to Christianity, but this, that the Israelites were in covenant with God, before they were under kings, (for though Moses and the judges had regal power, yet it was not by a standing law), Christian nations, under the powers of the world, before they became Christian. Unless it be, further, that the Church is one of all nations, the Synagogue, of equal extent with the people of Israel, which is not of consequence to this purpose. The apostle, rendering a reason why he commands secular powers to be prayed for at the assemblies of the Church, (1 Tim. ii. 2, 3, 4), assigneth the end of them to be, "That we may lead a quiet life in all godliness and honesty." Which is manifestly said in respect of secular powers that are not Christian: for of them the Church justly expects protection and quietness, paying them prayers, subjection, and duties. But he adds further this reason: "Because this is good and acceptable to God our Saviour, who would have no man to perish, but to come to the knowledge of his truth." If then, the will of God be, that the sovereign powers of the Gentiles be converted to Christianity, is it not his will that they employ themselves to the advancement of it, not only as Christians, but as sovereigns, which cannot be expected from Gentiles? There is

reason therefore to ground this interest upon the declared will of God, concerning the calling of the Gentiles; the apostles having declared that their secular powers are invited to the faith, and the prophecies of the Old Testament having declared, that their kings and queens should come to the Church and advance it. (Psalm ii. 10, 11, 12; lxxii. 10, 11; Es. xlix. 23; lx. 13.) This reason is far more effectual to me, by the prophesies left the Church in the Apocalypse; the main scope and drift whereof, I am much persuaded to be nothing else, but to foretell the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, and the punishment of the heathens that persecuted the same. For, if the intent of those prophecies be to show, that it was God's will, that the empire should become Christian, and that the reign of the saints upon earth there foretold, is nothing else but the advancement of Christianity to the government of the empire, and, by consequence, of other kingdoms, into which the empire was to be dissolved, it cannot be doubted, that Christian powers attain the same right in matters of religion, which the kings of God's ancient people always had, by the making of Christianity the religion of any state. This opinion it was not my purpose to publish, at the writing of this Discourse, because it is like to become a mark of contradiction to the most part, being possessed, more or less, of a far other sense. But having considered since how many and horrible scandals are on foot, by the consequences of that sense, (so that I cannot condemn myself of giving scandal, by publishing the

best means I can see to take it away), and having met with another reason, necessitating me to declare it, for the effectual proceeding of this Discourse, I will put it down in the Review of the last Chapter, where that necessity rises, desiring those that seek further satisfaction in this reason, to read it there for that purpose. As for the objection that was made, from the decay of Christianity, after the powers of the world protected it, and enriched the Church, it is a mere mistake, of that which is accidental, for the true cause. For, the coming in of the world to the Church is one thing, and the power of the state in Church matters is another, though this depend upon that: and it is true, that the coming of the world into the Church, was the decay of Christianity, but the power of the state in the Church, is a prop to sustain it from utter ruin. Many people are many waters, (Apoc. xvii. 15), but the gospel is the wine that cometh from the vine in the gospel, (John xv. i.) This wine, then, mixed with much water, that is, the gospel received by much people, retaineth not the true relish, in the works of them that profess it. David saith of himself, (Psal. xviii. 44, 45), "A people whom I have not known shall serve me; at the report of me they will obey me; strangers will lie to me." At the report of David's victories, strangers submitted unto him; some of whom were false-hearted subjects. This is the case of them that profess Christianity, and live not according to it, who seem to have learned Machiavel's principle, to join themselves to that party which they

mean to destroy. As the multitude that came with the Israelites out of Egypt, upon sight of God's miracles, set them on murmuring against God in their straights, (Exod. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4.) The cold of winter concenters the heat of the stomach, and fortifies digestion. So, the appearance of persecution fortified the primitive Christians to digest it. But the heat of the air entices forth natural heat, and disposes to putrefaction; so the peace of the Church dissolveth the best resolutions for Christianity. For, as the stomach cannot order and govern that abundance of crude and undigested humours, which the weakness of natural heat breeds, so neither can the discipline of the Church hold those in compass, that come not to Christianity with so strong a resolution as to suffer for it. The cause, then, of the corruption of discipline, is the coming of all sorts to Christianity, whether for fashion's sake, or for hope of advantage, which Eusebius hath observed that it was visible in Constantine's time. As for the power of the state in Church matters, it is ordained for a counter-poison to this mischief, to give that force to the discipline of the Church, which carnal Christians would not submit to otherwise. The apostles, in their time, had a power to inflict bodily punishment upon offenders, as St. Peter upon Ananias and Sapphira, St. Paul upon Elymas, which, in excommunication, he calls delivering to Satan, because, by some plague on the body, it appeared, that they came within his power by being excommunicate. This power it is which the apostle

calls " the rod " (1 Cor. iv. 21), and of it his meaning is when he says (2 Cor. x. 6), " that he was ready to punish all disobedience when their obedience should be complete." To me, therefore, it seems more than probable, which hath been conceived of late, that God provided this extraordinary gift expressly for those times, when the Church was destitute of the protection of secular powers, as, on the contrary, that, against the time that this gift ceased, he provided the protection of secular powers, for the maintenance of Christianity. These things thus debated, it will be worth the considering, how, by the appointment of God, it necessarily comes to pass, that the power of the Church, founded upon a very mean and inconsiderable privilege (as to the world), of assembling for the public service of God, comes to be of greatest consideration, in swaying the weightiest affairs of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths. And, in consequence thereunto, not what discretion, but what justice there is in those vain discourses, which require of the clergy of such times, that meanness, and poverty, and contemptible estate, and condition of living, which our Lord and his disciples spent their time in from the beginning. Not considering, that, by the same reason, the people of the Church must not continue such as now they are, but must return to be such as then they were ; that the right of the Church cannot be maintained in effect, without a power answerable to the body that is to be governed by it, nor that power maintained, without a support proportionable. And, that Christianity is not necessa-

rily seen, in having or not having this or that estate in this world, but in using the power with that meekness, and charity, and uprightness, the goods of this world with that temperance, continence, and freedom of heart, which Christianity requires. Nor is it to be doubted, that the Church was poisoned with those riches which the Christianity of the empire cast upon it; but not by having those riches, but by the manners of the people, which, coming into the Church corrupted with the love of them, must needs, by consequence, corrupt the clergy whom they came so near. In fine, that the reformation of the Church in a Christian state, consists not in stripping the Church either of power or possessions, but in providing better laws for the use of them, and the execution of the same.

You may have observed, that, in the premises, I have declared the society of the Church to be founded upon a command from God to all Christians of communicating in the public service of God, (producing an obligation to God, and therefore to the world, a privilege of doing it, though the powers of the world forbid it to be done) and upon a law for the condition under which they are admitted to communicate in it. Of this precept, or of the obligation and privilege depending upon it, I have hitherto made evidence. That which remains to make the proof of my purpose complete, is, to show that there is a law given by God, for the condition under which men are admitted to communicate with the Church; for, seeing the execution of this law must needs be com-

mitted to the Church, that is, to Christians, (not supposing for the present the Church to be a society, but only a multitude of Christians, nor disputing what part of the Church, or what persons in the Church are trusted with the execution thereof in behalf of the Church) upon this trust followeth immediately that common power which constituteth the society of the Church. Which power, because it is founded upon the obligation or the privilege of holding assemblies for the common service of God, therefore the act wherein it is immediately seen, is the avoiding of any man's right to communicate in the offices of divine service at the common assemblies of the Church for that purpose. I say it is immediately seen in this act, when it is complete; otherwise it is to be conceived that as it is exercised, so also it may be said to be seen more immediately in all those acts which tend to excommunication, as degrees or steps to it, which is the utmost that the Church, as the Church, can do, being the taking away of a Christian's life as to the Church, as the greatest works of state justice are the taking away of the natural or civil being of any member of it. Seeing, then, the utmost power of the Church is used in excommunication, it follows that it is evidenced and seen by excommunication; that is to say, that all reasons which show the Church to be endowed with the power of excommunication, do show it to be constituted a society, community, corporation, or spiritual commonwealth, by the power of doing it. Now the law which is the condition upon which men are ad-

mitted to communicate with the Church, is nothing else but the profession of Christianity, upon which the apostles of our Lord were first enabled to constitute Churches, by baptizing them whom they should win to be disciples according to the commission of our Lord (Matt. xxviii. 19); those only being disciples which undertook Christianity, and thereof were afterwards called Christians, being first called disciples, even after their baptism. Now, Christianity consisting not only in believing whatsoever our Lord Christ revealed, but in the acknowledgment of an obligation to do whatsoever he commanded; it follows, that this law of Christianity consists of all precepts, of things to be believed, and things to be done, which our Lord Christ hath declared to his Church. And not in these alone, in regard that our Lord hath commanded Christianity not only to be believed, but also to be professed at the utmost peril of life and estate; therefore I said, that the law, which is the condition of communicating with the Church, is the profession of Christianity which entitleth to baptism. This profession, seeing it cannot be made but to Christians that know what Christianity is, and thereby are able to judge of the profession made, how agreeable to Christianity, of the person making the profession, how sincerely, how cordially he does it, it followeth that the power of the Church is committed to them that are trusted to judge of the profession of Christianity, every one according to the interest which he justly pretendeth in that judgment. Therefore is this power called the power of the keys, be-

cause it openeth the door to the communion of all ordinances of divine service in the Church, when it findeth the profession both agreeable to Christianity and to the heart and life of him that makes it, and shuts the same when it findeth things otherwise. Therefore is it called the power of remitting and retaining sins, because God hath promised the free grace of remission of sins to all that make true profession of Christianity; the benefit of which promise, as it is good to him that makes such profession by virtue of his own act as to God, so by virtue of the act that admits of the same, it is good as to the Church, though it cannot be good as to God, unless it be good also as to the Church, by reason of the command of God, that every Christian be a member of the Church. For, if it were morally possible that any man should attain to the knowledge, and submit to the obedience of Christianity in such an estate of life, and such society of this world, wherein it were not morally possible for him to hold communion with the Church, or those who, in behalf of the Church, by the laws of it are enabled to admit him to the communion of the same by baptism, I would make no scruple to think that man in the state of salvation without baptism or the Church. And the same is to be said of all those that cannot be admitted to the communion of the Church without professing or doing something contrary to Christianity, which is the case of all that stand excommunicate upon unjust causes, so that their Christianity obligeth them to communicate with no part of the true Church. For seeing

the unity of the Church requires, that he that is excommunicate to one part of the Church, be excommunicate to all the Church (seeing the unity of the whole cannot be preserved, unless the whole make good each act of the part, which it hath power to do), it follows, that he who is excommunicate from an unjust cause, cannot with his Christianity communicate with any part of the Church, his title to heaven remaining entire. But this case ceasing, the remission of sins depends upon the Church, by reason of the profession of Christianity, which, as God requires every Christian to make, so he enables the Church to admit. And this is the argument for the power of excommunication, which is drawn from the power of admitting to baptism, evidenced by divers Scriptures, and divers particulars in the primitive practice of the Church, agreeable to the same. And truly, it was enough to point at some particulars, for he that would undertake to produce all that is to be had, in the records of the Church, to depose for this reason, and this right of the Church, might easily fill great volumes with nothing else. Nevertheless, I will here add one particular more, because it seems this reason of the right and interest of the Church is evidently seen in it; and it will not require many allegations, seeing it is a known rule of the ancient Church, that clinicks should not be admitted to the clergy, alleged by Cornelius of Rome, to Fabius of Antiochia, in Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vi. 43), against Novatianus, the father of the Novatians, to show, that he could not be bishop of Rome in opposition to him, being

made presbyter contrary to that rule. What was then the reason of this rule, and what were they that were called clinicks? It is very evident that there were very many in the primitive times, that believed Christianity, but durst not profess it, because it was no prejudice to believe it, but to profess it; so as to be baptized, and come under the discipline of the Church, might be a matter of life and death in case of persecution. Besides, believing and not professing, that is, not pretending to baptism, they avoided the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline. What should the Church do in the case of these men, when they came to demand their baptism, undertaking the rule of Christianity? Surely, as they could not utterly exclude them from the Church, that had never offended, or failed in that which they had undertook to it, so, of necessity, they must stand at a greater distance to such persons, as having their Christianity more in suspicion than otherwise. Wherefore, in danger of death, they were not to refuse them baptism; but in case they recovered again, it was very reasonable, that they which had attained their baptism only in consideration of the danger of death, and must have given better trial of themselves, otherwise, before they were admitted, should therefore stand so far suspected afterwards, as not to be admitted to the clergy, which required a greater proficience in Christianity, than that which qualified a man only for baptism. These, then, are they which were called *clinici*, because they were baptized in bed, as requiring their baptism, when they found themselves upon the bed of their

sickness, which might be that of their death. And this is the reason of the rule, that they should not be admitted to the clergy: and by this reason the right and interest of the Church is evident, in admitting the profession of Christianity in those that thereby demanded to be admitted to baptism.

In the next argument, drawn from the discipline of penance, it may be thought that I make it a difficult task, to prove the power of excommunication to belong to the Church, when I premise to that purpose, an assumption so hard to believe as this is, that the Church, by the discipline of the apostles, as well as by the practice and rules of the primitive times, was not bound to readmit to the communion of the Church, those that had fallen from their Christianity, by sins most destructive to the same. But it is to be considered, that, to the validity of this argument, it is only requisite to show, that those that had fallen, were to sue to be admitted to penance in the first place, that, upon satisfaction given of the sincerity of their resolution towards Christianity, they might be readmitted to the communion of the Church. All which supposeth, that, before such satisfaction given, they had forfeited the same. And the argument being effectual upon these terms, must needs convince so much the more, if it can further appear, that, in case of the most heinous offences, it was in the disposition of the Church to readmit them to communion or not. Add, then, to the evidence hereof, the example of Marcion, father of the Marcionites, in the beginning of his heresy in Epiphanius, who, being

put out of the Church, and denied penance by his own father, a bishop of great piety and zeal in Pontus, because, professing continence, he had corrupted a virgin, and afterwards at Rome, because of the rule by which the whole Church subsisteth, to make good the acts of all parts thereof, within the power of those parts, unless voided by superiors, fell hereupon to set up his heresy. And truly, so rigid a position as that of the Novatians, if it be considered aright, could very hardly have found any fellows, if it had been unheard of in the Church. But, though the Montanists were rejected at Rome, as to the point of receiving adulterers, seeing yet the question remained concerning apostates so doubtful, as to give Novatianus a party in it, what can be more manifest, than that they had the pretence of apostolical discipline, and the Scriptures, to set off their schism with? A thing still more evident, because that, from the relation of that which passed between Cornelius of Rome, and Fabius of Antiochia, in Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vi. 43, 44), it appeareth, that the Church of Antiochia remained for a time in suspense, whether to acknowledge Cornelius or Novatianus for the right bishop. Whereupon the bishops of the east, writing to Julius of Rome, from a council held at Antiochia, in Sozomenus (Eccles. Hist. iii. 8), do reckon it as a motive to persuade him not to interpose in the cause of Athanasius, deposed by the council held there afore, that they also had formerly done the like in the case of Novatianus. And by this eminent instance we learn, how much the unity of the Church is to be

preferred before discipline. The name of saints, and the like, in the writings of the apostles, is convertible with that of Christians, being give to all the members of those Churches, to which they address their epistles; though it be manifest by those very epistles, that, as our Saviour had foretold, so were those Churches nets that held both good and bad fish, floors that had both corn and chaff. What property of speech is there, then, to make good the language of the apostles? Surely, if the Church be a visible society of men, subsisting, not by the nature of the persons, but by institution and appointment of voluntary acts, capable to qualify them upon whom they pass, then, upon the constitution of members of the same, there must need accrue unto them qualities and denominations correspondent to the acts upon which they arise. Now, the profession of Christianity is not the proper and essential act of it, because it may be feigned and fruitless, but it is a sign to ground a reasonable presumption upon, that the person is such as he is thereupon presumed to be. But being admitted to the communion of the Church upon this presumption, he purchases thereupon a right to be taken for such as those are to be, so long as he continueth in the same. Now, if the discipline of Christianity could be held up together with the unity of the Church, then must it be understood, that the Church is commanded to exact it of all members of the Church, upon the same obligation as it is commanded all Christians for their souls' health. But though it be absolutely necessary to the salvation of

Christians to live as Christians, yet it is not so necessary for any Christian to procure that another Christian do it; therefore is the care of it commanded the Church, or whosoever is to have that care on behalf of the Church, so far as it may be useful to procure the general good of the Church. And surely the effect and benefit of this discipline was invaluable, both to those that passed through it, and to the confirmation of the Church. But when a person of eminence must be made desperate, by refusing to readmit him to the Church (which, perhaps, was the case with St. Paul towards the incestuous person at Corinth, whom St. Chrysostome and Theodoret take to be a person qualified in that Church, as I have showed in the Apostolical Form of Divine Service (p. 119), and so capable to lead a party after him), or when the multitude and equality of offenders takes away the benefit of example, and teaches them to pardon themselves, by making a Church of themselves otherwise (which, if St. Augustine had not said it, we might have gathered to have been the case, after the persecution of Decius, under Cornelius and St. Cyprian), without doubt the loss of it is a mischief nothing comparable to that which would follow, by dissolving the unity of the Church; and if, so near the source of Christianity, much were abated, what shall we think must be abated, when so much water is mingled with the wine of the Gospel, by admitting good and bad to the marriage of the Lamb? Neither is it my meaning to determine precisely, how far the Church may or must abate; yet thus much I will infer

for a consequence, that, as always there was a difference between the right of communion with the visible Church, and invisible communion with the Church of the firstborn, which is the right and title to life everlasting, as between the profession and performance of Christianity; so, seeing the condition of communion with the Church is still realised and enlarged more and more, to retain unity in corrupt Christianity, the condition of communion with God remaining always the same, the visible communion of the Church is always a presumption of invisible Christianity, because always necessary to it, though not sufficient alone: and therefore, though not always a reasonable presumption, because so much difference between the condition of visible and invisible, yet always a legal presumption, effectually qualifying men Christians as to the society of the Church. And this is the reason of that which I say here, (p.64), that the estate of the Church is then most happy and most pure, when this legal presumption is most reasonable.

It is not only true which I say, (p. 25), that the power of binding and loosing, which the priests and doctors exercised under the law, that is, of declaring this or that to be bound or loose, that is, unlawful or lawful, by the precepts of the law, cannot be that which our Lord meaneth, (Matt. xviii. 18), when he saith, "Whatsoever ye bind on earth," but, also, that the reason holdeth not under the gospel, to ground a general commission correspondent to the power in force under the law, upon which it may be

thought to be said, "Whatsoever ye bind." For, the reason of this power under the Synagogue, was the matter of positive precepts, not commanded because it was good, but good because it was commanded; which, where it was not determined by the law, was to be supplied by the power of the consistory, established Deut. xvii. 8, 12; the determination whereof being declared by authority derived from thence, made anything lawful or unlawful before God, by virtue of the general precept by which the authority subsisted. For which reason the consistory is to offer sacrifice for the transgression of private persons, as you see here, (p. 129), so often as they are led into transgression by the consistory deciding amiss. And this reason holds under the gospel, in regard of matters of positive right, concerning the society of the Church, not determined by any divine precept. For, if the Church have determined the matter of them, further than it is determined by divine right, then is that bound or unlawful which is so determined, unless the authority by which it is determined, declare, that the determination is not to take place. This is the effect of that legislative power which I challenge for the Church, (chap. iv. from p. 138), and concerns only those positive precepts, which tend to maintain the society of the Church in unity. But in those things which concern the substance of Christianity, because they are commanded as good, the obligation being more ancient than the constitution of the Church, as grounded upon the nature of the subject, and the eternal will of God, this power hath no place,

and therefore cannot be understood to be signified by the terms of "binding and loosing," as borrowed from the language of the Talmud doctors. But whereas, in the Synagogue, it was things or cases, under the gospel it is persons, that are said to be bound or loose. For, of every case questionable in point of Christianity, there is no infallible authority given to assure all Christians, that, following it, they shall always please God in all actions. But, as it is possible to judge of the state of all persons toward God, upon supposition of their profession, so, there is authority founded in the Church, of binding and loosing, that is, of remitting and retaining sins, by admitting to, or excluding from the Church. In fine, this interpretation is inconsequent to the words that went afore, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican;" if we take them in Erastus's sense, that thereby our Lord gives leave to sue such before the secular powers of the Romans, as would not stand to the sentence of their own consistories. For this plainly concerns matter of interest, not matter of office, seeing it would be very impertinent so to understand our Lord, as to command them to be sued in the Gentiles' courts, that would not stand to the sentence of the Jews' consistories, in matters of conscience. But, if we understand binding and loosing, according to this opinion, to be, declaring this or that to be lawful or unlawful before God, then doth it not concern matter of interest, but matter of conscience or office. Besides, this interpretation is impertinent to that which follows:—"Again, I say unto you, if

two of you agree upon earth about anything, to ask it, it shall be done for them, by my Father which is in heaven. For, where two or three are assembled in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Whereas, the interpretation which here is advanced, of binding and loosing the persons of them that are admitted to, or excluded from the communion of the Church, agreeth with that which went afore: "Let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican;" and no less with that which followeth, tending to declare the means of loosing such as should be so bound, to wit, the prayers of the Church, as hath been declared. As for the conceit of Erastus, that this precept of our Lord should concern only the Jews, that lived under the Romans, and not be intended for an order to be observed in all ages of the Church, it is so unreasonable, that I find no cause to spend words in destroying it; only, be it remembered, that it is contrary to the order instituted by our Lord and his apostles, that the differences of Christians should be carried out of the Church, to be pleaded and heard in the courts of the Gentiles, according to that which was practised afore in the Synagogue, as hath been said. So that this sense of Erastus, as you see by that which follows, is contrary to the practice of the Church under the apostles.

As for the reason touched (p. 36), that the practice of the Church before Constantine is the best evidence to shew the proper power and right of it, it is here opportune to resume the distinction made afore, and upon it to frame a general argument against

both. Which shall be this. Either there was a society of the Church by right, as we know there was in point of fact, before Constantine, or there is no such thing to be grounded upon the Scriptures in point of right, but was only an usurpation and imposture of the primitive clergy of the Church. This latter assertion is that which hath been refuted by the premises, proving first a privilege, or a precept, of communicating in the service of God given to the community of Christians; secondly, a condition under which they were admitted to communicate and to be Christians, and continued in the same estate. But, if there were a society of the Church before Constantine, constituted by divine right, then could not the same have been dissolved, but by the same power that constituted it from the beginning; neither can it be known to be dissolved but by the same evidence by which it appears to have been constituted, that is, unless it can be made to appear by the Scriptures that God ordained it to subsist, only till the Roman empire and other states and kingdoms received Christianity, then to be dissolved into the power of those states being become Christian, which I am confident no man will undertake to shew out of the Scriptures. If it be said that it subsisted till Constantine, not by divine right, but according to divine right, that is to say, by the power given the Church by God, of ordering those things which were not determined by any divine precept, and yet became determinable, the case is the same, and the reason is where it was: for, if the Church by the power given it by God im-

mediately, be enabled to make itself a society for the better maintenance and propagation of Christianity, and have executed that power by enabling every part of the Church to maintain itself in the unity of the whole, by the same power, in order to, and dependance upon the whole, then are all Christians bound by a divine precept, of obeying the governors of the Church, before they can be bound to obey the secular powers in Church matters. The one power being constituted by the immediate revelation and appointment of God in matters concerning the society of the Church; the other, constituted indeed by the providence of God executed by man, but enforced by the law of Christianity, to be obeyed in all things not excepted by the same, whereof this is one. And, if the consent of the Christian world can be of any moment, in a matter wherein the clergy are parties indeed, as they must needs be, but must challenge their right at their utmost hazard, it is not possible to give a more pregnant instance for the right of excommunication in the Church, than the troubles of Athanasius of Alexandria, and Alexander of Constantinople, for refusing to admit Arius to communicate with the Church, being cast out by the council of Nice, the act whereof they could not void, the good emperor being seduced to think it necessary for the quiet of the Church. And not only by this particular, but by all the proceedings of the first Christian emperors in the affairs of the Church, (who had great advantage in discerning the true interests of the state and the Church, not only by the advice of

those bishops which had received it fresher from the source, but by sensible knowledge of the whole right which they found the Church in possession of, when they came to be members of it), it is manifest that they never sought to bring to effect that which they were persuaded to be necessary for the establishment of Christianity, (whether truly or falsely), as well as for the quiet of their estates and people, by the immediate act of their own sovereign power, but by the act of those that were then held able to conclude the Church ; employing their secular power in consequence to the same, to enforce such acts, (though not always valid to oblige the Church), by temporal penalties on them that refused, as enemies to the public peace.

Seeing then that the Church is a society, community, corporation, or spiritual commonwealth, subsisting by the immediate revelation and appointment of God, without dependence upon those Christian states wherein it is harboured, as to the right by which it subsisteth, and the matter wherein it communicateth, but depending upon them for the force which is necessarily requisite to maintain the whole people of all Christian states, in the communion of their respective Churches, and by them of the whole, it followeth of necessity that it is endowed with rights correspondent to those wherein the sovereignty of states consisteth. The power of the sword is the principle of those rights into which the rest are resolved, when they are enforced to have recourse unto it, for the execution of that which becomes requisite to make

them available. And the Church hath the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, which is used two manner of ways, as the sword is, either to subdue strangers, or to cut off malefactors. Let no man imagine that any private person is enabled to propagate the gospel, and constitute new Churches of persons newly converted to Christianity, without competent commission from the Church. To bring men to be Christians, indeed, is that which not only any of the clergy, but any Christian may do, and is to do, when he finds himself able to act towards it, without disadvantage to Christianity. It is that which the ecclesiastical histories inform us, that Frumentius and Ædesius did in India, and the captive maid in Iberia, as well as those of the dispersion of Jerusalem in Phœnice and Cyprus, and at Antiochia. (Acts xi. 19, 20.) But, the authority by which they became a Church, they were to seek where it was before, at Alexandria and Constantinople, as well as those at Jerusalem. (Acts xi. 22.) Because, in the Church the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, is deposited, and trusted with the Church, for the propagation as well as the maintenance of it; and though all Christians must needs understand themselves to be under an habitual trust, or a commission dormant, to persuade all that they can to the Christianity which they have themselves; yet the express commission of the Church imports further, the exercise of that power which the society thereof already useth towards them, that by virtue of the said commission shall be brought to be Christians: at least it

may import so much, if we suppose it granted to such purpose. The sword of the spirit is used within the Church to the punishment of malefactors, upon two sorts of causes. For, if any man forfeit his Christianity, either by denying the faith upon profession whereof he was admitted to Christianity, or by living contrary to the same, the same sword of the Spirit which pronounceth him cut off from God, cuts him off from the Church. And, in regard that it is part of Christianity to believe that God hath ordained a Church, the consequence whereof is, to oblige all Christians to maintain themselves in the unity of the same, which cannot be done by those that refuse to be concluded by it, in all things not contrary to God's law; the same sword of the Spirit that subdues all men to be Christians, upon condition to live members of the Church, cuts them off from the communion of the Church, that will not live within compass of the unity of it. The power of the sword being supposed in the Church, jurisdiction follows, which consists not so much in judging, as in executing the sentence. Not that there is any such thing as jurisdiction (such as the civil laws of the Romans, and all other people understand, which proceeds by constraint of outward force) in the Church; but because the Church, being constituted of such as desire to continue Christians, upon supposition of this will to continue a Christian, he may be said to be constrained to hear the Church, that cannot communicate with the Church, unless he do so as it requires. Upon the same ground subsists the right of ordinations, answerable to that part of

sovereignty in states, which consists in creation of magistrates and officers (for it is without doubt, beside the intent of the Roman laws, to call the sovereign a magistrate, magistrates being generally ministers of the sovereign) which creates a particular power over the clergy by the jurisdiction of the Church. For, in regard that (as it hath been said on divers occasions in this Discourse) the clergy is promoted upon supposition of some degree of proficience in Christianity, over and above that, upon supposition whereof, men are admitted to be only Christians, it followeth not that those, who by their conversation render themselves unworthy of that degree which they hold in the clergy, do by the same means render themselves unworthy of the communion of the Church. Therefore, the punishment of a clergyman may be competent, by only voiding his degree, when another Christian cannot be competently punished but by putting him from the Church. Whereby it appears, that the power of ordaining, as well as censuring persons ordained, is grounded upon the power of the keys, as giving or taking away not the communion of the Church, but a degree and quality above it, which supposeth it. Again, upon the constitution of the society of the Church follows the power of making canons, constitutions and ordinances, obliging the respective body thereof, correspondent to the legislative power of kingdoms and commonwealths, wherein the justice of them most appears, though the strength of them is more seen in the power of the sword, which gives all laws force. And so it is no more

inconvenience to call these canons the laws of the Church, than it is to call the power of excommunication the spiritual sword of the Church. Neither is it any more for the Church to have this power, than that which states ordinarily allow the meanest corporation which they privilege, to wit, to give laws to their own bodies, for the maintenance and execution of the laws originally given them by those who are enabled to institute them. In fine, in correspondence to the exchequer of a state, is the title that God hath given his Church to the oblations of the faithful,—their first-fruits and tithes; the right whereof he hath endowed the Church with, leaving the seizure to the voluntary tender of those whom he calleth to be voluntary Christians. And thus, and by this correspondence with a state, the parts of ecclesiastical power are more clearly and more intelligibly distinguished, in my opinion, than by the ordinary terms of jurisdiction and order. For first, these terms being introduced by the canonists and school-doctors, seem to presuppose a coactive jurisdiction in the Church, upon the constitution and original title of the Church, such as the Church of Rome challenges, and the decretal epistles of the popes presuppose; whereby they challenge to themselves that power by divine right, which, by the sufferance of princes and states, they did exercise (entangling the schools of divines with as inextricable difficulties to make it good, as Christian states with commotions, to shake off the consequences thereof) merely for neglect of the principle here presupposed; that Christianity importeth no

right of this world, and therefore, that the coactive power of the state remains where it was before it. Secondly, it seemeth that the power of order and jurisdiction are not contradistinct but subordinate, the power of order being the production and consequence of the power of jurisdiction, if it be rightly understood; for by the same reason which proveth here (p. 162), that the power of consecrating the Eucharist belongeth to presbyters, upon the power of the keys, and that all benedictions with imposition of hands, whether in confirmation, ordination, penance, marriage, or whatsoever else, are marks of that power which alloweth those acts which are blessed, to be done in the Church, as you have it here, (p. 20), by the same reason it follows that the ministry of all ordinances of God deposited with the Church, is a mark of that superiority, which those that minister the same have in the Church. And therefore, if the power of order be in respect of Christ's own body, as ordinarily they describe it, it proceeds from the power over his mystical body, which is that of jurisdiction as they make it. Or if as others will have it, the power of order consists in the ministry of such divine ordinances, as are the means to procure and increase God's grace, in the persons to whom they are ministered, the same reason takes place, because they are not to be ministered butby them whom the Church trusteth to do it, to that true intent which it teacheth. Wherefore, it seemeth that the term of jurisdiction ought to ex-

press the common source of all ecclesiastical power, which it doth not, because that, as jurisdiction is but a part of sovereignty in a state, so the power from which the metaphorical jurisdiction of the Church floweth, (which I conceive cannot be better expressed than by calling it the power of the keys, as the gospel hath done), produceth other branches of ecclesiastical power correspondent to other parts of sovereignty in a state, as hereby you have seen.

CHAPTER II.

HAVING thus determined whereupon the power of the keys is founded, and wherein it consisteth, it remained to proceed and declare what persons it is trusted with; for, seeing the persons of whom Christian states consist, are the same of whom the Churches, or parts of the whole Church that are contained in those states consist, if there be no provision of God's law, tying the right of managing this power, and the productions and branches thereof, to some qualities consequent to the constitution of the Church, it will necessarily fall as an escheat to the state, and we shall be tied to grant it power to confer those qualities by which it is managed, and all this will be truly said to no purpose. Here, in the first place, I must insist upon a point, the truth whereof, the presbyteries and congregations have equally divided between them, and left it entire to the Church. For, those of the congregations, finding that the design of the presbyteries had ordered a presbytery for the government of every congregation that assembles together for the common service of God, had reason to infer, that all those presbyteries ought to be endowed with the power of the keys, as to their own bodies. To which, assuming another demand, that the chief power in every congregation was that of the people, it followeth, that all congregations are inde-

pendent and absolute, not to be concluded by any Church, or synod representative of Churches, above themselves. On the other side, the Presbyterians, finding that no unity can be preserved without dependence, and desiring to preserve unity among themselves, though not with the Church, have designed the power of the keys, as to the act of excommunication, to rest in representatives of the presbyteries of congregations, which nevertheless they call by the same name of presbyteries, or classes, the same being subject to synods of presbyteries, and those to national assemblies. Whereas, there is never any mention, in all the Scriptures, of any presbytery, or company, college, or bench of presbyters, as likewise there is no mention of any Church, but in a city; no mention of more Churches than one in the greatest city, and the most populous, for number of Christians, that is mentioned in all the Scriptures; though no common reason can question, but there were more congregations, considering that it cannot be thought, that all the Christians, contained in the greatest and most Christian of all those cities, could assemble together at once for the common service of God. Upon these premises it is necessary to infer, that the apostles' order was that, which we see was the rule of their practice, that the several bodies of those that should be converted to Christianity, within several cities and the territories thereof, should constitute several Churches, to be governed by the several presbyteries thereof, constituted and regulated as shall be declared in the consequences. Which

being established, it will not be difficult to infer, that the power of the keys, and the consequences thereof, are deposited in the said Churches, that is, trusted with them that are endowed with the power of governing those Churches. To which, if you add this, that the Churches of particular cities, were to depend upon the Churches of mother cities, upon which particular cities depended for the civil government; you have a reason and rule of the whole frame of Church government designed by the apostles, as general as could be given to a society, that was to consist of several nations and sovereignties without limits, but not more general than the original constitution of the whole Church, derived from their design, will evidence to be agreeable to those impressions and marks of it, which are here produced out of the Scriptures.

This position is liable to an objection, from those, which the ancient canons of the Grecian councils call *chorepiscopi*, which we may translate country bishops, because the word χώρα, properly signifieth the country, in opposition to, or in difference from the city. For, if Churches constituted in cities, have their several presbyteries, the heads whereof being bishops, are, by consequent, governors in chief of their respective Churches, how are bishops constituted in the country, that is, in any of the chief villages under any city? For, by this means, either we have a Church in a village, or a bishop without a Church, and so, the practice of the Church, not to be reconciled with that which I make the design of the

apostles, if either be true. The answer to this, in general, must come from that, which you have here afterwards, (p. 52), that the rule is as generally expressed in these terms, as any rule can be general to those cases that may fall out so diverse. For, the general intent and reason of it is, to preserve the unity of the whole Church, by the subordination and dependence of the parts thereof, to and from other parts, and so the whole. If some particular provision prove necessary, some time and place, to attain this end, it is not to be thought that the general rule holds not therefore. For the particular here in hand, one thing I conceive may be questionable in point of fact, and matter of historical truth, concerning these country bishops, which the canons quoted (p. 119) speak of. For, in the beginning of the eleventh canon of Antiochia, it is said, that they received χειροτονίαν ἐπισκόπων, the ordination of bishops; in the end of it, it is provided that they be ordained by the bishops of the city to whom they are subject. The first clause seems to intimate, that they have the same ordination with other bishops, which is by the synod of the province, or those that represent the same; besides that, we find, by the subscriptions of the councils, that they were called to councils, as if they received their trust immediately from the synods of their provinces. By the second clause, it seems they receive their authority immediately from the bishop of the province, whereupon they are called *vicarii episcoporum*, the bishops' deputies, as you see in the place aforenamed. What my judgment is in

this point you may have seen before, p. 119, neither do I see cause to repent me of it. For, howsoever they were ordained, and from whomsoever they received their trust, it is manifest by the canons of Ancyra and Laodicea there quoted, that they received it upon such terms as to be subordinate to the bishop of the city, which otherwise bishops were not, but immediately to the synod of the province, and the bishop of the mother-city. Neither is it contrary to the ground of that general rule which I maintain, that it should be within the power of the Church contained in any province (that is to say, the synod of the same) to ordain, that (in regard some village under some city of that province grew considerable for the extent of it, and the multitude of Christian souls contained in it), therefore it should have a bishop beside the bishop of the city. Alway provided, that the dependence of Churches might be preserved, wherein the unity of the whole consisted. But it is manifest, that this dependence might be maintained two several ways, supposing a bishop to be constituted in a village: first, ordaining him to be subordinate to the bishop of the city: which is the case of those whom we speak of, whose power is tied up, as you have seen, by the said canons of Ancyra and Laodicea. But, should they be left free from all dependence on the city bishop, then were they absolute bishops, and their Churches, though in villages, and therefore less, yet, for their respective power and right, the same with other Churches constituted in cities; which seems to be the case of the Churches

of Afric, where bishops were so plentiful, that every good village must needs be the seat of an episcopal Church. Neither doth this destroy the rule which I maintain, that cities and Churches were originally convertible, but argues, that villages, in some countries, had that privilege, which, in others, was proper to cities. To that which is said, p. 44, of the difference between prophecies, and between apostles and prophets, I add this consideration, that the apostles of our Lord were necessarily prophets, because of the promise of the Holy Ghost to lead them into all truth, to remember them of our Lord's doctrine, and to make them understand the Scriptures, all which are contained in the thing signified by this word prophesy, though the original thereof import only foretelling things to come, as it is manifest by St. Paul, (1 Cor. xiv.) But all prophets are not necessarily apostles, that is, sent by God to declare their commission to his people, or to charge them with those things which God revealed to themselves. I grant, that the prophets under the Old Testament were such, by reason of that law by which God appointeth them to be obeyed, and therefore giveth a rule how to discern between true and false prophets. (Deut. xviii. 18.) And hereupon it is, that their writings are the word of God, and that prophesy is said to have failed after those whose writings we have. Not that we are bound to disbelieve Josephus, when he relates of John Hyrcanus, the prince of the nation, and others, that they foresaw things to come (to say nothing of Simeon and Anna, the blessed Virgin and

Zachary, because the light which they had may be taken for the dawning of that day that was to come under the Gospel), but because they were not sent with means to make evidence of their commission, and so to charge the people of God. As, at the present, though God may grant revelations, yet no obligation upon the Church follows, because no commission can be made to appear. Whereby we may measure the difference between the prophets of the Old Testament and the prophets which we read of in the Churches of the New. Those, having commissions to the people in covenant with God, containing his pleasure in the interpretation, limitation, dispensation, of the same, were above God's positive law, inasmuch as God, by them, might abate it sometime and somewhere, as by Elias in Mount Carmel. These, we do not find that they had to do beyond the Churches whereof they were, to evidence the presence of God in the Church by his graces, to inform them of things to come, to instruct their own Churches, but always supposing the constitution of the Church, and the laws whereby they were settled by the apostles. And therefore if the prophets of the Old Testament were under the consistory to be judged by them, as I have said here, p. 85, much more were the prophets of the New Testament subject to the apostles, when as, by like reason, they were to be subject to the government of their own Churches, seeing there is no appearance of any privilege for them, against the common obligation of obedience to the same. Whereupon, the Montanists, who made a schism upon pre-

sumption of some instructions they had from their supposed prophets, were not only abused in point of fact, to take them for prophets which were not, but were guilty of schism in point of right, because God had given no power to those, whom he granted those graces to under the gospel, against the ordinary government of his Church.

I will add here, to that which you find of the state of the Jews at Alexandria, p. 47, a remarkable passage of an edict of Claudius in favour of the Jews, recorded by Josephus (Antiq. xix. 4), where, having said that he had understood that the Roman governors, from the taking in of Alexandria, had always maintained the Jews in their rights, he adds, *καὶ τελευτήσαντος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐθνάρχου τὸν Σεβαστὸν μὴ κεκωλυκέναι ἐθνάρχας γίνεσθαι βουλόμενον ὑποτετάχθαι ἑκάστους ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἔθεσι, καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἀναγκαζομένους τὴν πάτριον θρησκείαν.* "And that, when the prince of the Jews' nation was dead, Augustus did not forbid them to make princes, but would have all subject to him, continuing in their own customs, and not constrained to transgress the religion of their fathers." Which, if we compare with the words of Philo (adversus Flaccum), where he affirms that the consistory of the Jews at Alexandria was established or confirmed by Augustus, it will appear, that the Jews had the same government in Egypt as in Palestine and Babylonia, to wit, by a head of their nation and a consistory. Zorobabel was their prince when they first returned from the captivity: but, as the little Chronicle of the Jews relates, he afterwards left Ju-

dæa and returned into Babylonia, where his posterity continued heads of the captives (as they are called by Josephus ἀιχμαλωτάρχαι, by the Jews ראשי הגלות) for many generations. In Judæa, setting aside Nehemias, and the governors which he mentions (v. 14, 15), (because it seems they had not their power from the nation, and the right which they had within themselves, by being privileged to live by their own laws, but by an immediate commission from the sovereign, as the name פחה there signifies, being Babylonish, as we see by Dan. iii. 2, and, as the commission of Nehemiah imports, by which he is enabled to make war against his fellow-governors, which afterwards was usual under the Persian empire), Josephus affirms, that the government was in the hands of the high-priests, from the return out of captivity till the time of Mattathias's sons (Antiq. xi. 4); and, that after him, till the destruction of Jerusalem, it was no otherwise, the Scriptures of the New Testament are sufficient to inform us. As for the consistories under these heads of the nation, we find much mention of them in the Jews' writings, at Babylonia and at Jerusalem, from the constitution thereof under Esdras, by the commission granted him from the sovereign (Ez. vii. 26), we have the continuance and subsistence of them, in the Gospels and Josephus. Now, about the time of Herod the Great, the little Chronicle of the Jews relates, that Hillel, of the posterity of Zorobabel and David, came down from Babylonia to Jerusalem, and became of such esteem in the knowledge of the law, that, by the Talmud doctors, he and

his posterity, in succession, are reckoned for heads of the consistory; which, how it can stand with the relation of the Scriptures, before the destruction of the temple, I do not so well understand. But, when afterwards, by the kindness of king Agrippa to his nation, and his love to the law, as it seems most probable, they took up their residence at Tiberias, it seems there is not much doubt to be made, that, from thenceforth, those of this stock continued patriarchs, and the consistory there under them till the times of Epiphanius and the emperors, whose laws you have in both codes, (Tit. de Judæis et Cœlicolis), and in fine, so long as their privileges lasted in Palestine. In like manner therefore in Egypt (where Philo in the same discourse reckons, that there lived a million of Jews in his time), and at Alexandria, we have from the same Philo intelligence of the consistory, from Josephus, of the head of the nation, whom he calls ἐθνάρχης, and is, without doubt, the same that the emperor Adrian, in his epistle to Servianus, (recorded by Vopiscus in the life of Saturninus), calls Patriarcha. The words of Philo πρὸς Φλάκκον are these: *τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαικῶν εἵλετο, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου τελευτὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Μάγνον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν, μέλλοντα πάλιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβὼν τοὺς εὑρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις.* "For, having apprehended thirty-eight (even all that were found in their houses) of our senate, which our saviour and benefactor Augustus chose to take charge of the Jews' affairs, by his instructions to Mag-

nus Maximus, when he went to govern the country the second time." Here are thirty-eight of seventy named, whereof the consistory consisted: here is the very order of Augustus named, which Claudius's edict, alleged by Josephus, pointeth at; in fine, he that is called in Claudius's edict ἐθνάρχης, in Hadrianus's Epistle, Patriarcha, is here called γενάρχης, whose power seems to have been correspondent to that of the αἰχμαλωτάρχης in Babylonia, of the high-priest at Jerusalem, and of the patriarch at Tiberias.

There is in the Ecclesiastical Histories, a consideration very proper to evidence the reason why Constantinople was afterwards the second in rank after Rome, which is here touched, (p. 49). And it is that of the power of Eusebius, and of Nicomedia, the city of his bishopric. For, because during the time of Diocletian, Nicomedia was, as it were, the seat of the empire, he having made it his main residence, with an intent to have it so continue; thereupon, saith the history, Eusebius growing to great eminence in the Church, undertook the support of Arius against Alexander of Alexandria. If, therefore, the bishop of Nicomedia had attained such authority in the Church by the ambulatory residence of the empire there, since the time of Diocletian, well might the pre-eminence settle at Constantinople, when Constantine had fixed the seat of the empire there, and that, by the virtue of the rule given by the apostles, though the effect thereof come after the act of Constantine.

To that which I have said from p. 51, of the great

difference that is to be found in the execution of the apostles' rule, that Churches should be planted in cities, or in the greatest residences in several countries, that is to be added which Sozomenus, (Eccles. Hist. vi. 21), hath recorded concerning that province which he calls Scythia, the Romans, Mæsia Inferior; in which, at the time of the Emperor Valens, there was but one bishop of the mother city Tomi, the place of Ovid's banishment; for, this is the same case with that which is related by Eutychius, of Egypt, before Demetrius was bishop of Alexandria, that there was no more bishops in it besides that one, the same which Godignus relates of the Abassines, that there is to this day but one bishop in all that dominion, as you have it here, p. 53.

To all the reasons here produced for the dependence of Churches, add the consideration of the unity of the Church, how it was commanded by God in point of right, and how provided and maintained, in point of fact, by the Church. For, if the Church be a visible society, commanded to live in unity, then is the unity thereof commanded to be visible; that is, it is commanded that Christians preserve unity with all Christians, not only in faith and love, inwardly, in the mind, but also in the outward communion of all those ordinances, wherein God hath appointed his service, under the gospel, to consist. And this is manifest by the words of St. Paul to the Ephesians, exhorting them to continue in unity, because they have "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." (Eph. iv. 4.) For if these

motives and reasons were proper to the Church of the Ephesians, then might it very well be thought, that Christians are obliged thereby, only to live in unity with those of the same Church; but, since they are common to all Christians of all Churches never so remote, it followeth, that the precept of upholding the unity of the Church, obligeth all Christians visibly to communicate with all Christians. By which reason the same may be proved, by all or most of those Scriptures which recommend, or which only mention the unity of the Church. But it is most peremptorily proved, by that which hath been produced in the first chapter, to show the condition upon which all men are to be admitted to the communion of the Church, which is, the profession of Christianity. For, seeing that is one and the same, in all parts and climates of the world, as introduced by the same power, and derived from the same fountain, it follows, that no Church hath any further to enquire about any man's right of communicating with the Church, but whether his profession be allowed by his own Church, and whether that hold communion with the whole. And truly, because it is the same condition which entitles all men to the communion of the Church all over the world, that is, to profess the substance of Christianity, therefore all Churches are to procure that there be nothing to hinder this communion, when that condition is performed, and every person of those Churches, in their several qualities, that nothing else be demanded. But, when some Churches, or some parts of one and the same Church, demand for the

condition of communicating with others, something more than was appointed for the condition of it from the beginning, separation and schism follows, the cause whereof is commonly doubtful, because it appears not how far several Churches, or parts of the same, are to yield to the acts of others, which would conclude the whole if they should yield, when it appears not, how the matter of them agrees with that condition of communion with the Church that was delivered from the beginning. But, when both sides charge the blame on the contrary party, they show that they are both agreed that the blame must lie on one side, and therefore, that the unity of the Church is such as hath been said, because schism in the Church, no more than war in civil society, can be just on both sides. Now, it is very manifest, that, in the primitive Church, this unity was actuated by intercourse of letters from Church to Church, begun first, and established by the apostles themselves, whose writings are almost all epistles; for by their epistles, as the matter of Christianity is more and more declared, so the intercourse and correspondence of the Church is preserved, inasmuch as it is manifest, that their epistles require nothing of the Churches to which, but the same which they require of the Churches from which they write, so that there must needs be correspondence between all that acknowledge the apostles holding correspondence. The same course was continued, not only by the epistles of the primitive bishops, which are a great part of their writings still remaining, but a great deal more by the

intercourse of their *formatæ*, or letters of mark, which every Christian that travelled into a strange country taking with him from his own Church, found, not only the communion of the Church open to him wheresoever he came, but also that assistance in his affairs which Christians are to expect from the charity of Christians. And of this kind the epistle to the Romans may be accounted, because of the recommendation of Phœbe (xvi. 2), as of a deaconness in the Church of Cenchreæ, near Corinth. The effect of this course is visible in all the proceedings of the primitive Church, whereof we have some memorable instances here afore related. When, by the result of a council, such or such bishops are removed from their Churches, it is ordinarily signified to other Churches by the letters of the council, with this warning, that none of them from thenceforth write to the persons so sentenced, nor receive letters from them as bishops. Marcion, being put out of his father's Church of Pontus, is refused to be admitted to communion at Rome, lest the unity of the Church should be dissolved, if the act of a Church so far distant should not be made good by that of Rome, being an act in the power of that Church to do. Therefore, upon the doing of the act, it was to be signified, that it might be known what was to be done. The excommunication of Andronicus is, by Synesius's eight-and-fiftieth epistle, signified to the Churches with this protestation, that if any Church admitted him, without giving satisfaction to theirs, it would thereby cause schism, and dissolve the unity of the Church. Infi-

nite more might be produced to this purpose; for, hereupon it is, that all bishops are, many times, in the primitive records of the Church, accounted to have a charge of the whole Church, because of their interest to give advice, and thereby to concur in the settling of all affairs of other Churches, that might conduce to the quiet or unquietness of the whole: which, as it was solemnly done by the assemblies of synods, so it was every day done by this intercourse, which, in time of persecution, supplied the use of them to better effect than they were found to produce in time of peace. And this seems to me a peremptory argument against the presbyteries, because this intercourse was a matter of daily necessity, whereas, by the design of the presbyteries, there is no standing body to which the Church can have recourse for assistance, in the ordinary occasions thereof which concern other parts, but the presbyteries of congregations, which themselves condemn as incapable to deal in such matters, when they give them not power to excommunicate. Therefore, it is of consequence, that in the greatest residences of the world, those bodies of Churches should be always standing, to which the Church might have daily resort, either to receive or communicate advice, judgment, sentence, and whatsoever was to pass for the maintenance of unity in the exercise of Christianity, so that, what there should be received, might, by consequence, be presumed to be received by all Christians contained under the same, not having any pretence to oppose such a consent as they were prejudiced with. And thus, upon

the proof of the institution of Churches in cities, it follows that the power of the keys, and all the productions and branches of the same, as to their respective bodies, in concurrence with other Churches of like rank, and dependence on those of higher, is, by consequence, deposited with the same.

To conceive aright of the correspondence between the constitution of the Church and the Synagogue, which, it is manifest, our Lord himself pointed at in choosing twelve apostles, and seventy disciples, as it is touched here (p. 60), we are to deduce it from the veiling of the gospel within the law, and the discovering of the New Testament, by taking away the veil of the Old. By reason whereof, the Church is the spiritual Israel, as the Synagogue was Israel according to the flesh, no otherwise than the gospel is the law spiritually understood; a thing so manifest by all the passages of the Old Testament produced, expounded, and applied, not only by the apostles, but by our Lord himself in the New, that he shall, of necessity, do great wrong to Christianity, that shall take in hand to maintain it against Judaism, without drawing this ground into consequence. Now it is manifest, that the people of Israel, being made a free people by the act of God bringing them out of Egypt, and entitling them to the Land of Promise upon the covenant of the law, had Moses, not only for their prophet and chief-priest (for by him Aaron and his successors are put in possession of the priesthood, and the tabernacle itself, and all the pertinences thereof made and consecrated), but also for their

king, their lawgiver, their judge, and commander-in-chief of their forces under God, if not rather God by Moses. For, after the decease of Moses, we see that either God, by some extraordinary immediate signification of his will and pleasure, stirred up some man to be in his stead for the time, or, if there were none such, then he took upon him to rule their proceedings himself, inasmuch as by answering their demands by Urim and Thummim, he directed them what to do, and what courses to follow in the public affairs, that concerned the state of that people. Whereupon, when they required Samuel to make them a king, he declareth, that it was not Samuel, but himself whom they had rejected, because they had rejected him whom God had immediately given them in his own stead, so that by his natural death the power returned to God, as at the beginning. Under Moses, the twelve heads of the tribes, representatives of the twelve patriarchs, commanded the militia of their respective tribes, divided into thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens; which division, by divers passages of the Scriptures, appears to have continued to after ages, without doubt, for no other reason but because the lot of every tribe was divided amongst them according to the same. And the chief of these divisions are they whom Moses, upon Jethroe's advice, assumed to himself, to judge the causes of less moment, referring the greater to him, who, over and above that charge, was to go between the people and God in all things which he should please immediately to determine, as you may see by the text of Exodus xix. 16,

19, 20. This office it is, which he assumed afterwards seventy elders of Israel to assist him in; which, by the law, so often quoted, of Deut. xvii. 8, are afterwards made a standing court, resident at the place of the tabernacle, to judge the last result of all causes concerning the law, and to determine all matter of right not determined by the letter of the same. So that, by consequence, the judgment of inferior causes arising upon the laws given by God, resorteth unto the inferior consistories of several cities, constituted by the law of Deut. xvi. 18, though perhaps, partly in the hands of those captains, before the laws were altogether provided or put in force, which dependeth much on the possession of the Land of Promise. This is the reason, that those of the high consistory are called the elders of Israel, but those of other consistories barely elders, or the elders of such or such a city, as (Deut. xxi. 2, 3), "Let thy elders go forth," and, "let the elders of the next city take thy elders," that is, the elders of Israel: so those of the great consistory are ordinarily called in the Gospel, as also the "scribes of the people;" and "thy scribes," is used there for those of the high consistory, whereas the bare name of scribes extended far further to other manner of persons. As also the bare name of rulers, and that of "rulers of the people of Israel," are to be understood with the like difference. Now, wherein consists the correspondence between the order of the Church and this of the Synagogue? The king of the Church, without doubt, is our Lord Christ alone, who hath absolute power over it, and because he is in

heaven, his militia is also heavenly, even Michael and his angels, that fight for the Church against the Devil and his angels, as the twelve standards of Israel, is camped without the tabernacle, which is the Church, containing all Christians. But the twelve apostles and seventy disciples must needs be understood to hold correspondence with the twelve heads of the tribes and seventy elders. And the whole reason and ground of this correspondence to consist in the whole power of governing the spiritual Israel of God, which is his Church, to remain in their hands, as the rulers and as the council thereof, while it was altogether in one body, from thence to be propagated into the like, when it came to be divided into several bodies by the founding of several Churches, as you have seen that it was among the Jews in Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia. Wherefore, as there can no question be made, that the Jews, by virtue of God's law, created themselves that government which they established in their dispersions, by sufferance of their sovereigns, according to the form designed by the law, by a consistory in the mother-cities of their dispersions, with inferior consistories where the number of Jews was so great as to require a form of government; no more can it be doubted, that when Churches were founded in the greatest residences, concurring with Churches founded in the like and depending on those of the mother-cities for the maintenance of unity in the whole, all this, though executed by human discretion, was done by virtue of the rule designed by the apostles. And as all Israel had no power to add or take

from the law, yet was to be concluded in that which the law had not determined, by the consistory, so, all the Church, having no power to make anything of divine right that was not so from the beginning, hath power to determine what the Church shall either do or acknowledge, for the preservation of unity in itself, in all matters not determined by divine right. As for the priest's office, from which most men desire to derive the pre-eminences of the clergy, although it were manifestly peculiar to Israel after the flesh, and to cease with the same, seeing the Church hath no other sacrifice but that one of Christ upon the cross, not repeated, but represented continually by the prayers of the Church at the celebration of the Eucharist, as the reason which must make all those prayers effectual by the peculiar covenant of Christianity, it follows, that those that are entrusted with the government and maintenance of Christianity, are, by consequence, entrusted with the offering of this sacrifice and of these prayers of the Church unto God, by the same reason, for the which, I said afore, that the consecration of the Eucharist floweth from the power of the keys; so that, whether they be called elders or priests, they have both denominations from the quality of presbyters. Seeing, then, that the apostles are, by their commission, the twelve patriarchs of the spiritual Israel of God, which is his Church, and so the chief governors of the same, let not the Presbyterians imagine that they can degrade them to the rank of their buckram elders, or shew us, what particulars, mentioned in the Scriptures,

the apostles acted as apostles, and what, as elders (as, that they concurred in the council at Jerusalem in the common quality of elders), unless they can produce other Scriptures of other apostles, superior to these that appoint it: all these recording the acts of chief governors of the whole Church, as founders of it by their original commission, and lawgivers to it, in whatsoever our Lord had not determined afore. And though their proceedings are throughout a pattern of meekness and condescension to all ranks in the Church, using their power with that humility which our Lord had commanded to his chief disciples, to give satisfaction to all of the reasonableness of their proceedings, (because there was then just presumption, that others would use the like reverence to them, in receiving satisfaction, as they in tendering it); yet, by St. Paul to the Corinthians, we see, how far it reached, when any pretence opposed itself against it. Suppose now, for the purpose, that Barnabas was one of the seventy, as Epiphanius affirms, shall we endure it to be affirmed, that, when he is sent by the Church at Jerusalem to Antiochia (Acts xi. 20), he is sent by the appointment of certain of the people, who had a commission from our Lord, before they were Christians, even for the founding of that Church, wherein, they who are thought to send them, received Christianity? Surely, the commission of our Lord (Matt. xxviii. 19) extendeth to the seventy, as well as to the twelve, though in dependence on them, as the twelve princes of Israel. And therefore, as it is ma-

nifest, that Barnabas was sent to Antiochia, because those that had made Christians at Antiochia, had not power to found a Church there, by ordering their assemblies, which Barnabas is said there to have done; so is it manifest, that he could not receive this power from the people of the Church at Jerusalem (which may better challenge it than any lay elders, whose title must come from the people, as I have shewed (chap. iii.), and will shew, by God's help, by and by, more at large), but that he must be understood to be sent by the Church, because by the twelve, and by the seventy, with the consent and concurrence of the clergy and people. And sent so to order a new plantation of the spiritual Israel, that, notwithstanding, one of those that sent him, taking the charge afterwards into his own hands, might become patriarch of that tribe, which should be planted in and under that city: as also, Barnabas himself to become the head of another plantation in Cyprus; or Paul (who by virtue of the power received by Barnabas at Jerusalem, was by him assumed to his assistance), being afterwards acknowledged to be called by God into the rank of the twelve, to become a patriarch of those plantations, which received Christianity by his means: and thus, it is no inconvenience which some of the fathers have incurred, by affirming, that the twelve have the rank of bishops, and the seventy of presbyters, if we refer them to the whole Church, not to any particular Church, but only by correspondence: for so were the twelve patriarchs to the people of Israel, as the

seventy were presbyters and elders to the same, as I said of the consistory: every part of the Church planted in and under any city, having, nevertheless, according to one and the same form, a ruler of a bishop, and a council of presbyters. And yet is it nothing inconvenient, in another regard, that the council of Neocæsarea (can. xiii.), compares country bishops to the seventy, the city bishops being by correspondence consequently compared to the twelve: because, on the one side, those country bishops were to be subordinate to the bishops of their cities, as the seventy were to the twelve: on the other side, the seventy, being answerable to the seventy elders of Israel, must needs be understood to be of a higher quality than common presbyters.

CHAPTER III.

THAT it is no new reason that is here rendered (p. 74), why the name of *episcopus*, under the apostles, was common to those that are since distinctly called bishops and presbyters, may appear by a passage in "Amalarius de divinis Officiis," [ii. 13] quoted out of the supposed St. Ambrose upon the Epistles, produced by Salmasius, "In Apparatu: Quia beatis apostolis decedentibus, illi qui post illos ordinati sunt ut præessent Ecclesiis, illis primis exæquari non poterant, neque miraculorum testimonium par illis habere, sed in multis aliis inferiores illis esse videbantur, grave illis videbatur apostolorum sibi vendicare nuncupationem. Diviserunt ergo nomina ipsa, et iisdem presbyterorum nomen reliquerunt, alii vero episcopi sunt nuncupati, hique ordinationis prærditi potestate, ita ut plenissime iidem præpositos se Ecclesiarum esse cognoscerent." This is manifestly the very reason that I insist upon; for, saith he, because the "blessed apostles deceasing, those that were ordained to be over Churches after them, could not be equalled to those first, nor attain to the like grace of miracles, but appeared to be beneath them in many other things, it seemed too much for them to challenge to themselves the name of apostles. Hereupon they divided the names, and left them the name of presbyters, and the others were called bishops; and they endowed with the power of ordaining, that they might

know themselves to be set over the Churches, in the fullest right." I marvel what pleasure Salmasius had to allege this passage: which, if it be admitted, is enough, alone, to overthrow all that he hath said in this point. For, first, he supposeth, as the received doctrine of the Church, that bishops, in their several Churches, succeeded the apostles: secondly, he answers all St. Hierom's reasons, to prove that bishops and presbyters are all one, because they are called by the same name in the Scriptures, by giving another reason, even that which you have here: lastly, he saith that bishops are set over their Churches *plenissime*, in the fullest right; and that therefore ordination was reserved to them, which is to say, that, in all things they have a special interest, but especially ordination is their peculiar. And with this reason agrees Theodoret, when he says, that at such time as the name of bishops was common to presbyters, those who were called bishops afterwards, were called apostles; extending the name of apostles to others besides the apostles of Christ.* This is, then, a sufficient reason, why the name of bishops, should be afterwards appropriated to that rank, wherein they succeed the apostles and evangelists in their respective Churches (because they could not be called by the same which their predecessors had borne), though formerly common both to bishops and presbyters. And this is the meaning of those words of St. Augustine, which seemed difficult in the Council of Trent, because the opinion, which derived all

* [In 1 Tim. iii. 1.]

the power of bishops from the pope, was so strong there: "Etsi secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit, in multis tamen Augustinus episcopus Hieronymo presbytero minor est."* Let not the humility of St. Augustine be drawn into consequence, and the property of his words shall enforce no more than I say. He knew well enough how stiffly St. Hierom had argued, that a bishop and a priest is all one in the terms of divine right, because the name of *episcopus* is attributed to presbyters by the apostles. Is it to be presumed that St. Augustine acknowledges this to be his own opinion, because it is plain he intends not to cross St. Hierom in it, having other differences with him before? On the contrary, it hath been shewed by other passages of his writings, that his opinion was otherwise. To use, therefore, that civility, which his meekness prompted him to condescend to St. Hierom with, he granteth his premises, neither refusing, nor admitting the consequence, saying, "Though, according to the titles of honour which now have prevailed in the Church, a bishop be greater than a presbyter, notwithstanding, in many things Jerom the priest is greater than Augustine the bishop." Whereby, naming "the titles of honour which now have prevailed in the Church," he insinuates the reason, for which I here maintain that they were thus distinguished afterwards, and therefore supposes the ground of it: otherwise, he might as easily have granted St. Hierom's consequence, and

* [Epist. xix-lxxxii.]

pleased him more. And yet, I conceive, that, when he says a priest may be greater than a bishop, it may very well be admitted, not only as a condescension of humility, but as an expression of truth, not only in respect of learning, or other personal considerations, but of authority in the Church, by reason of the dependence of Churches here premised. The state and government of Churches is very properly compared by Origen, (contra Celsum, vii.) to the state of Greekish commonalities, the bishop bearing the place of the magistrate, and the bench of presbyters of the senate, as I have hitherto compared them to the Jews' consistories; and, as Pope Pius, in his epistle to Justus of Vienna, calls the presbytery of the Church at Rome, "Pauperem senatum Christi in urbe Roma."* "The poor senate of Christ in the city of Rome." In this estate and condition, the eminence of the bishop above the presbyters is visible, though not by the humility of Pope Pius, who, perhaps, comprises both bishop and presbyter in the same quality of a senate; yet, by the comparison of Origen, the eminence of the magistrate above his council, in all commonalities, being so visible as it is. But, when congregations come to be distinguished, as well as Churches, and a greater flock assigned to some presbyters, than to bishops in other parts of the Church, and those presbyters to do all offices to their flock, which those bishops did, saving that they depended on the city Church, whereas those bishops depended only on the Church of the mother-city, (and there-

* [Baronius ad an. 166.]

fore had power to make ordinations within their own Churches, which presbyters never could do); what hinders in this case, I say not, St. Augustine (for I suppose he names himself but for an instance, being indeed bishop of an eminent city), to be less than St. Hierom, but, some bishop to be less than some priest, even for his lawful authority in the Church? A consideration of great consequence to the right constitution of councils, especially the most general, and, for which, there is not wanting a valuable reason, intimated in the proceedings of divers of the ancient councils of the Church, that is, that the Church cannot be reasonably concluded by number of present votes, as the Council of Trent imposes upon us, but, by the consideration of Christian nations, and provinces of the Church, represented in those councils. For, as we see, that, in the ancient councils, a few bishops were many times admitted to act in behalf of their provinces, as having commission to conclude them, in which case, they must needs be considerable, according to the provinces for which they stood, so, in all things, which may concern the whole, not only every man's rank of bishop, presbyter, or deacon, is to be considered, but also the eminence of the Church, in which he bears the same. So that, by this reason, nothing hinders a presbyter of some chief Church to be of more consideration to the whole, than a bishop of some mean Church, such as we spoke of in Afric. And therefore, it would be inconsequent, that the determinations of synods should pass indifferently by the votes of bishops, unless we suppose, that conside-

ration is had of the chief Churches; and this consideration answered, in the eminence of that respect, which the bishops of those chief Churches enjoy, in swaying the determinations of those synods to which they concur. And this consideration might, perhaps, have served to take off part of St. Hierom's displeasure against bishops, grounded upon the power which their deacons had, by their means, above presbyters, which he, in regard of the great difference between the two degrees in general, thinks to be so great an inconvenience, (Epist. lxxxv. ad Evagrium).* For, though it is most true, in regard of the presbyters and deacons of the same Church, that it was a disorder, that deacons, in regard of their nearness to the bishops, should take upon them above presbyters; yet, if we compare the deacon of a chief Church, with the presbyter of a small country parish, no man can say that he is of less consideration to the whole Church, in regard of his rank, unless he mean to make Stephen or Philip, Titus or Timothy, (or any of those that waited on the apostles in person, and were properly their deacons, as I have said, in assisting them to preach the gospel where they came), to be meaner persons in the Church, than one of those presbyters which Paul and Barnabas, Titus or Timothy, ordained, in the Churches of those cities where they came.

To that which I say, p. 76, to prove that the word angel, in the epistle to the seven Churches (Apoc. ii. and iii.), being an obvious and proper metaphor to

* [Ad Evangelum. Ep. ci.]

signify a bishop or presbyter, cannot, therefore, be used to signify a college of presbyters, the word being no collective, nor any construction enforcing it to be used for a collective, in all that epistle; I add here the comparison of two passages, by which it may be gathered, for what reason, and in what consideration, the spirit speaketh to the body of those Churches, in the epistle directed to the angels of them, and, by consequence, who those angels are. The first is that of St. Paul to Titus (iii. 10): "A man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition, avoid." For, is it St. Paul's purpose to command, that only Titus avoid those whom he should declare heretics? Surely, that would be to no great effect, unless we understand, that, by virtue of this precept, both Titus is enabled to charge the Churches under him to avoid them, and they thereupon obliged to do it. The other is the epistle under the name of Ignatius to Polycarpus, wherein, after such advice as he thought fit for Polycarpus, without turning his speech from him to another person, he proceeds to exhort his people, with such instructions, as he found to be most requisite. Which seems to be the reason why many count that epistle counterfeit, and none of Ignatius's own; though, for my part, I confess, I am not yet persuaded to think so, not only because of the character, both of the matter and language of it, which seemeth to me to carry the stamp of apostolical upon it, as the rest of Ignatius's; but also particularly, because of the example of this epistle of St. John to the seven Churches, wherein, it is plain, he involves both pastor and flock in the

same praises, reproofs, advices, and exhortations; the reasons being the same in both, because both sent to be read to the people in the Church, as the Epistle to the Colossians and the Laodiceans (Colos. iv. 16); and, as the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, Eusebius says, was wont to be read in that Church in his time.* Now, if the instructions concerning the people be addressed to Titus and Polycarp, is it not because of some eminence of authority in them, by which they might be brought into effect among their people? How much more that which is addressed unto the angels of seven Churches, being a style apt to signify a person of eminent authority over others, but never used to signify a body of persons, much less with parallel authority among themselves?

It is commonly conceived, that the seals under the altar, which we read of, (Apoc. vi. 10), were seen by St. John, lying under the altar of burnt sacrifices, at the foot whereof the rest of the blood that was not sprinkled on the altar was poured out; and the blood being the life or soul of living creatures in the language of the Scriptures, that therefore, the souls of those that were slain for the profession of Christianity, are seen by St. John under the altar. Against this apprehension, I allege, (p. 78) that it is not the altar of burnt sacrifices, but the altar of incense, (within the tabernacle, but without the veil), which is represented in these visions, correspondent to the primitive fashion of churches, where the communion

[Hist. Eccl. iii. 16.]

table (called also the altar, because of the sacrifice of the cross represented upon it), stood in the midst of that compass, which the seats of the bishops and priests did enclose. For though in the temple the people prayed without the sanctuary, the priest, whose office it was, at the same time offering incense with their prayers yet in the church, where all the people are within the sanctuary, as priests, the twenty-four presbyters are described with golden vials full of incense, which is the people's prayers, as David saith, "Let my prayer be set forth in thy presence as the incense," (Apoc. v. 8); and besides, the angel puts incense upon his censer, to the prayers of the saints, (Apoc. viii. 3); therefore his fire is from the altar of incense, within the tabernacle, though without the veil. Besides, it is not imaginable, how the souls of those that were slain, could appear to St. John in vision of prophecy, lying under the altar of burnt sacrifices, where the blood of sacrifices was poured out, and that in such a multitude, as we know there was of the primitive martyrs; especially, seeing the circumstances of the text enforce, that they are the same souls, which first cry for vengeance, and have long white robes given them, because they are not presently satisfied (Apoc. vi. 9-11); and which are afterwards described standing and praising God in the white robes that were given them afore. (Apoc. vii. 9). And therefore, when they are said to be seen, *ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*, the meaning is not that they were seen lying under the altar of burnt sacrifices, but, standing in the lower part of the sanctuary, beneath the altar of incense. Unless we take *θυσιαστήριον*

here for the sanctuary, as I show that it is taken in the Apocalypse, (p. 94) and then ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου is for ἐν τῷ ὑποκάτω or ἐν τοῖς ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

The name of ministers, when it answers the Greek διάκονος in the Scriptures, if it be put absolutely, without any addition, signifies the rank and office of those that are ever since called deacons in the Church; but many times it is put with the additions here mentioned. (p. 81.) "Ministers of the word, ministers of the Gospel, of the New Testament, of the Church," which serve as circumlocutions and descriptions of the office of apostles to the whole Church, or their deputies and commissioners, the evangelists, as when St. Paul writes to the Colossians, (i. 23-25) that he was made a "Minister of the Gospel," or, "of the Church, according to the dispensation of God which is given me towards you, fulfil the word of God," that is, "the mystery that hath been hidden from generations and ages, and now is manifested to his saints." It is here manifest, that he calls himself a minister of God, or of the Church, in regard of publishing the gospel, and planting the Church, which belongs not to the presbyters of Churches, whose name and office is respective to their particular Churches. And this notion of the word is almost always to be gathered, by the text and consequence of those passages where it is found. Therefore the word διάκονος, when it is absolutely put, (1 Tim. iii. 8) stands in relation to bishops and presbyters, mentioned afore, in the notion of "waiting upon them," (whereas, when it is put with the addition here spe-

cified, it stands in relation to God, making as much difference between ministers of the word, and barely ministers, as between executing the immediate commands of God, as apostles do, and executing the commands of bishops, in regard of whom, mentioned afore, they are called, barely, and without any addition, διάκονοι, or ministers in that place). And so the seven at Jerusalem were first constituted to wait upon the apostles, by doing that service, which they did themselves at the first for the Church; whereupon, it was afterwards a custom in the Church, that there should be seven deacons in every Church, as there were at Jerusalem, (Concil. Neocæsar. Can. xiv). And therefore, the author of the questions of the Old and New Testament, in St. Augustine's Works, (Quæst. ci.), having observed, that the apostles call presbyters their fellow-presbyters, addeth, "Nunquid et ministros condiaconos suos diceret apostolus? Non utique, quia multo inferiores sunt. Et turpe est judicem dicere primicerium." "Would the apostle call deacons his fellow-deacons? Surely no, for they are much inferior. And it is absurd to call a pronotary a judge." Where, he makes the same difference between presbyters and deacons, as between Christian judges and ministers of courts, and that, according to the original custom of the Synagogue, as well as that of the Church, as by and bye it shall appear. Notwithstanding, the office of bishops is called a ministry very anciently, by Pope Pius, in his epistle to Justus of Vienna, as also the office both of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, (Concil. Eliber. can. xviii.),

but in another notion, in opposition to the coactive power of the world, as proceeding originally, not by constraint, but by consent; and so they are called λειτουργοὶ, and their office λειτουργία in Greek, because their office is for the behoof of the people, and in their stead; but they cannot therefore be called ministers of the people, as deacons are ministers of bishops and presbyters, because then, they should be ruled by the people, and execute that which they prescribe, (as the apostles being ministers of God in preaching the gospel, are bound to execute his commission, and nothing else) which the clergy of Christian Churches may not do.

That it may be beyond any power upon earth, to abolish the order of bishops out of the Church of England, without abolishing the Church also, as is said here (p. 105), I prove (chap. v. to wit), that no secular power can take away ecclesiastical power from them that lawfully have it, according to the institution of the apostles, though not by virtue of it.

To shew that, in the judgment and practice of the primitive Church, all power of baptizing was derived from the bishop, as is said here (p. 111), we have but to remember the custom of the Church, mentioned in so many canons, of sending the chrism to all parish churches, from the mother Church, once a year. By which ceremony it appeared that the bishop trusted his authority of admitting to the Church by baptism, with the respective pastors of the same. And therefore, it is not unreasonably judged, that this custom of chrisming was, many times, instead of con-

firmation to those churches that used it. Besides in that, from the beginning, no ecclesiastical office was to be ministered by any but the bishop in his presence, the dependence of all ecclesiastical authority, whereby the same are ministered, upon the bishop, is evidenced to us. Thus, in the passage of Eusebius concerning Origen's preaching before he was of the clergy, mentioned p. 87, it is further to be observed, that the instances there alleged seem to shew, that the primitive bishops did many times admit those that were of no degree in the clergy to preach in their own presence. Which, that it was a further privilege than only to preach, may appear by that which is related out of the life of St. Augustine, in "The Primitive Government of Churches," (p.113); that he was employed by the bishop, his predecessor, to preach to the people in his presence and stead, because he had seen it so practised in the east, though in those parts it were not done. In like manner it is manifest, by many records of the Church, that none might baptise, celebrate the eucharist, or reconcile the penitent, in the bishop's presence, but himself; for of confirmation and ordaining I need say nothing.

The fourth reason against the vulgar reading of the thirteenth canon of the council at Ancyra (p.114), will be more clearly understood by setting down the effect of the fifty-sixth canon of Laodicea; which, coming after that of Ancyra, and taking order that for the future there should be no country bishops made any more, provides further, that those which

were already constituted should do nothing without the consent of the bishop, as likewise the presbyters to do nothing without the same. Which, being the provision which the latter canon establisheth, leaveth it very probable that the other, going afore, and intending to take order in the same particulars, should consist of two clauses correspondent to the same.

That there were other Churches and bishops in Egypt, besides that of Alexandria, before the time of Demetrius, besides that which hath been said (p. 116), stands more probable by the emperor Adrian's epistles, related by Vopiscus in the life of Saturninus: "Illi qui Serapin colunt Christiani sunt; et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopos dicunt. Nemo Archisynagogus Judæorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter, non mathematicus, non aruspex, non aliptes." Here he names bishops at Alexandria; to wit, such as resorted thither from other cities of Egypt. And though a man would be so contentious as to stand in it, that the name *episcopus* might then be common to bishops and presbyters both, yet when he speaks of *presbyter Christianorum* in the very next words, he cannot reasonably be thought to speak of presbyters in those that went afore. And when Tertullian saith that Valentine, the father of the Valentinians, expected to have been made a bishop for his wit and eloquence, and, because he failed of it, applied his mind to make a sect apart, whereof himself might be the head (Adversus Valentin. cap. iv.), unless we suppose more bishops than one in Egypt at that time, we tie our-

selves to say that he would have been bishop of Alexandria: which, had it been so, Tertullian probably would have expressed, for the eminence of the place.

The correspondence between the office of deacons in the Synagogue and the Church, mentioned p. 127, may thus appear: "Judges and offices shalt thou appoint thee in all thy gates;" that is, in all thy cities, saith the law, (Deut. xvi. 18), joining together judges and officers in divers other places, (Num. xi. 16; Deut. i. 15, 16). These officers the Greek translateth γραμματεῖς, and sometimes γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς, the vulgar Latin "doctors," for what reason I do not see that any man hath declared. By the Talmud doctors, they are called חזני הכנסת, which seems to import *apparitores synagogæ*, which Maimoni describes to be young men, that have not attained the years and knowledge of doctors; and the punishment of scourging, he saith, was executed by these. He reporteth also an old saying of their Talmud doctors, that the reason why Samuel's sons would not ride circuit as their father did, was, because they would inflame the fees of their חזנים וסופרים, that is, their ministers, apparitors, and scribes or clerks. And Buxtorf, in the word חזן, reports another of their sayings, that, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the wise were imbased to the learning of apparitors, and apparitors to that of clerks. So then, they were next under their wise men, or doctors, but above scribes or clerks, by this account; but, seeing there was no more difference between them, it is no

marvel, if sometimes it be not considered. Maimoni, in the title of "Learning the Law," sheweth, that the Jews had everywhere schoolmasters appointed to teach young children to read; of the condition of whom he writeth there at large, (cap. iii.); these are they whom the vulgar Latin meaneth, by doctors, as appears by the supposed St. Ambrose, upon 1 Cor. xii. 25, who would have those, whom St. Paul there calls doctors, to be the very same. And therefore, they are the very same, that the seventy meant by γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς. The Jews say that they were of the tribes of Simeon, and that, so, the prophecy of Jacob was fulfilled: "Divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." The Levites being dispersed throughout all the tribes, to take tithes at the barn-door, and the Simeonites, to teach to write and read. (St. Hierom, Tradit. Heb. in Genesin; Jarchi in Gen. xlix. 7). And indeed, the name by which the Scripture calleth them שׁוֹטְרִים though the original of it be not found in the Scriptures, (as how should any language be all found in so small a volume?) yet, in the Jews' writings, and also in the Syriac Testament, the word from whence it is derived, signifieth contracts, as Coloss. ii. 14. So that, by their name, they must be such as write contracts, that is, clerks or notaries. Therefore, if the judges and doctors of the Jews' consistories are correspondent to the presbyters of Christian Churches, which by many arguments hath been declared, then the apparitors and notaries of the same must, by consequence, be answerable to our deacons. And so Epi-

phanius, in the "Heresy of the Ebionites," maketh the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the Christians to be the same, that, among the Jews, were called ἀρχισυνάγωγοι πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἀζανῖται, that is, rulers of synagogues, presbyters and deacons; for, as the deacons were wont to minister a great part of the service in the Church, so still, the service in the Synagogue is performed by him, whom, still, they call חזן הכנסת, or minister of the synagogue.

To this third chapter I must add two considerations: the one is of the scope of that little piece, of "The Right of the People in the Church," which the learned Blondell hath lately added to Grotius's book, "De Imperio Summarum Potestatum in Sacris." Which is, in brief to derive the right and title of lay elders from the people, and from that interest, which, by the Scriptures, it appears that they had from the beginning, under the apostles, in Church matters. Whereby, he hath given us cause to cry aloud, Victory; as, quitting the reason and ground upon which the bringing of lay elders into the Church was first defended, and is hitherto maintained among us, to wit, that only text of 1 Tim. v. 17: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those that labour in the word and doctrine." For, this Scripture being abandoned, the rest that are pretended, are so far from concluding, that they cannot stand by themselves. Now, that this text cannot be effectual to prove that purpose, he argueth there upon the same reason which here I have ad-

* [Hær. xxx. § 11.]

vanced (p. 101), to wit, because the same honour, that is, maintenance, is thereby allowed to those that labour in the word and doctrine, and those that do not: whereupon, it must needs appear, to him that knows a great deal less of the antiquity of the Church than Blondell does, that they are clergymen, whose maintenance is provided for by the apostle. Now, to comply with him, that hath so ingenuously yielded us the fort, I do avow that he hath reason to believe, that (there being so great difference between the state of the Church, since whole nations profess Christianity, and that which was under the apostles, and the confusion appearing so endless and unavoidable, that must needs arise in Church matters, by acquainting all the people with the proceeding of them, and expecting their satisfaction and consent in the same) it cannot be contrary to God's law, to delegate the interest of the people to some of the discreetest and most pious of them, chosen by them, to concur in their right. For, in this quality, do those elders of the people, of which Justellus writeth, act in ecclesiastical matters, as you may see by that which I have said, in the "Apostolical Form of Divine Service," (p. 96) and in all other the particulars which he allegeth. And, if this be it which the Presbyterians demand in behalf of their lay elders, let them first accord themselves with those of the Congregations, concerning the due interest of the people in Church matters; and my opinion shall be, that the Church may safely join issue with them, not to yield a double number of votes to lay elders, in the proceeding of all Church matters, as the ordinance for establishing the Pres-

byteries appoints, (which is to make the clergy truly ministers, not of God, but of the people) but to grant them a right of intercession in behalf of the people, (when as the proceeding may be argued to be contrary to God's law) grounded upon the practice recorded in the Scriptures, and continued under the primitive Church, by which the people were satisfied, even of the proceedings of the apostles themselves in Church matters. For, by this right and interest, the acts of the Church shall not be done by any vote of the people, but the rule of Christianity; and the constitution of the Church according to God's law, shall be preserved, which are the inheritance of Christian people.

The second is concerning the different interests of clergy and people, in judging the causes of Christians before any state professed Christianity, supposing that which hath been proved in the first chapter, that our Lord and his apostles ordain, that they go not forth of the Church to be judged in heathen courts, upon pain of excommunication to them that carry them forth. For, St. Paul seems to appoint, that the least esteemed of the Church be constituted judges in those causes, (1 Cor. vi. 4) and therefore, not bishops, nor presbyters, nor deacons, which must needs be of most esteem in the society of the Church, but the simplest of the people. Which, though it must needs be said by way of concession, or supposition, that is, that they should rather appoint such men that carry their causes to secular courts (otherwise it were too gross an inconvenience, to imagine,

that the apostle commandeth them to appoint the simplest to be their judges,) yet, seeing the truth of his words requires that the supposition be possible, so that it might in some case come to effect, it seems that his injunction comes to this, that, in case the chief of the Church, the clergy, were so employed, that they could not attend to judge their controversies within themselves, they should make judges out of the people. Which seemeth not suitable to the rest of the interests of the clergy hitherto challenged. This difficulty is to be answered, by distinguishing, as the Roman laws distinguish, between jurisdiction and judging, though in far less matters. For jurisdiction is sometimes described in the Roman laws, to be the power of appointing a judge, because it was never intended that the magistrate, which was endowed with jurisdiction, should judge all in person, but should give execution and force to the sentences of such judges as himself should appoint. So that the advice of the apostle, supposeth indeed, that some of the people might be appointed to judge the causes of Christians, within the Church, but leaves the jurisdiction in those hands by whom they should be appointed judges. Which, though it be attributed to the Church indistinctly by the apostle, yet seeing, by our Lord's appointment, the sentence was to be executed by excommunication, therefore of necessity, the appointing of judges must proceed upon the same difference of interest, as it hath been showed that excommunication doth. And though St. Paul suppose that there might be cause to have

recourse to lay-men, for the sentencing of differences in the Church, (as indeed the life of St. Peter, in the pontifical books, relateth that he did ordain, or appoint certain persons to attend upon this business, that himself might be free for more spiritual employment, which seemeth to be meant of lay-men constituted judges) yet, by the Apostolical Constitutions, we find, that it was usually done by the clergy. (ii. 47.) And Polycarpus, in his epistle to the Philippians, exhorting the presbyters, not to be ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, rigid in judgment, must needs be thought to have respect to this office. And, besides many more instances that might be produced of good antiquity in the Church, it is manifest, that this is the beginning of bishops' audiences.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT which is said, (p. 135,) that Christian states have as good right to dispose of matters of Christianity, as any state that is not Christian hath, to dispose of matters of that religion which it professeth, proceedeth upon that ground of interest in matters of religion, which is common to all states, to wit, that the disposing of matters of religion is a part of that right wherein sovereignty consists, inasmuch as it concerneth all civil societies, to provide, that under pretence of religion, nothing prejudicial to the public peace thereof may be done. And truly, those religions that come not from God, may very well contain things prejudicial to civil society, inasmuch as those unclean spirits, which are the authors of counterfeit religions, do also take delight in confounding the good order of human affairs. Notwithstanding, in regard, the obligation which we have to civil society, is more felt, and better understood, than that which we have to the service of God; therefore, those that are seduced from true religion, are nevertheless, by the light of nature, enabled to maintain civil society, against anything, which, under pretence of religion, may prove prejudicial to the same. This is then the common ground of the interest of all states in matters of religion, which Christianity both particularly and expressly establisheth. Particu-

larly, inasmuch as, they that assure themselves to have received their religion from the true God, must needs rest assured, that he, who is the author of civil society, doth not require to be worshipped, with any judgment or disposition of mind prejudicial to his own ordinance; which reason, because it taketh place also in Judaism, I have therefore, as I found occasion, endeavoured to declare, how that it containeth nothing prejudicial to the law of nations; and expressly, inasmuch as the gospel addresseth itself to all nations, with this provision, that nothing be innovated in the civil state of any, upon pretence thereof, but, that all, out of conscience to God, submit to maintain that estate wherein they come to be Christians, so far as it is not subject to change, by some course of human right. For when St. Paul, (1 Cor. vii. 22), commands all men to serve God, in that condition, of circumcision, or uncircumcision, single life or wedlock, bondage or freedom, wherein they are called to be Christians; his meaning is not to say, that a slave may not become free with his Christianity, but that he must not think himself free by his Christianity. And upon this ground, common to all states, it is verified, that Christian states have as much right in Christianity, as those states that are not Christian have, in that religion which they profess. Another ground there is peculiar to Christianity, by virtue of the will of God declared to be this, that Christianity be received and maintained by the sovereign powers of the Gentiles, to whom God appointed the gospel to be preached. Of which afterwards.

That when the world is come into the Church, that is when states profess Christianity, it is not to be expected that persons of great quality in the state submit to the power of the Church, unless the coactive power of the state enforce it; as it is said p. 137, depends upon that which I said afore, that the profession of religion is common to all nations, insomuch that he deserves not the benefit of civil society that renounces it. For if the profession of religion in general be requisite for all them that will enjoy civil society with any civil nation, then is the communion of that religion, which the state wherein a man lives professes, a temporal privilege to all that enjoy it; inasmuch as thereby they are reputed to have that communion with God which the rest of that state must needs be reputed to have, because the religion of the state must needs be reputed to be true. And this reputation being so necessary in civil society, that no man, esteeming it as he ought, can lightly abandon it, it follows of necessity, that many will be willing to profess Christianity, when the state professes it, that would not be willing to submit unto the power of the Church (by which they may be deprived of the privilege of communion in it, unless they perform, as well as profess it, in the judgment of those whom that power is trusted with), if the coactive power of the state did not enforce it.

That which is said (p. 138), that sovereignty is called by the Romans *imperium*, or empire, is chiefly meant of the title of *imperator*, given Augustus and his successors, and the reason which, I conceive, it imports. For, when the people was sovereign, ge-

nerals of armies received commonly from their armies the title of *Imperatores*, upon any remarkable exploit of war done upon their enemies. But they received afore of the people, that which they called *imperium* or empire (to wit, the power of the sword), by a peculiar act, beside those by which they were either made magistrates, or set over their provinces. Wherefore, the title of *Imperator* (given Augustus in another sense and notion, than other generals had it from their armies, or than magistrates received their commands as generals from the people, saith Dion. lib. xliv.) seemeth to extend as far as the property of the word readeth, to all acts of sovereignty, which a commanding power can enforce. All laws being nothing else but commands of that will, which hath power to determine what shall be done, in those things which those laws do limit and determine: all magistracies, offices, and jurisdictions, nothing else but commands of that will, which hath power to entrust whom it choseth with the execution of laws, or with power of commanding in such things wherein it hath determined nothing afore. All these branches, then, and productions of sovereign power, are in force, and may be exercised by Christian states, as well upon ecclesiastical matters and persons interested by the Church, as others. But, not to defeat nor void that ministerial power, which the Church having received immediately from God, enjoyeth thereby, a right answerable to all the branches of sovereign power, in matters proper to the Church, as you have seen it declared, p. 27.

The evidence of a legislative power in the Church, is said (p. 142) to be as express in God's book, as it can be in any book inspired by God: not as if it were not possible, that God should declare by inspiration, more clearly, that this power belongeth to the Church, than now it is declared in the Scriptures (for then could there be no dispute about it), but, that it is as express as it can be in these Scriptures, supposing them to be inspired by God. For, seeing those of the Congregations think, that they have a sufficient answer to all that is brought for a legislative power in the Church, out of the Scriptures, by saying that the Scriptures are given from above, and therefore the matters therein declared, being immediately commanded by God, are no ground of the like power for the Church; it was necessary to remonstrate unto them, that, if this answer were good, not only there were no such power *de facto* declared, but also no such power could be declared by such Scriptures; and, therefore, that we are to look about us, and to consider by what circumstances of things expressed in such Scriptures, it may appear to common reason, that the Church practised it not without authority and warrant from the Scriptures.

If the prophets of the Old Testament had this power by the law, that if they dispensed with any positive precept of it, that precept was to cease for the time, (which is not any dream of the Jews' doctors, but an opinion received from their predecessors, without which, they involve themselves in most inextricable difficulties, that either deny, or give any

other reason of the toleration of high places, before the temple was built, and after that, of the sacrificing of Elias in Carmel, as also of the forbearance of circumcision in the wilderness), it is no marvel, if the reproof of Ahab by Elias, (1 Kings xxi. 19), of his son by Elizeus, (2 Kings vi. 32), of Herod by our Lord and St. John Baptist, are imputed to the peculiar right of prophets in God's people, (p. 145.) For, seeing that the law was the condition of the temporal happiness of that people, whereof those princes were sovereign; and, seeing the prophets were stirred up by God to reduce and preserve the law in force and practice, as well as to point out the true intent and meaning of it, which the gospel was fully to declare; it is very reasonable and consequent, that their office should take place as well in regard of the prince as of the people. Especially, seeing it was sufficiently understood, that the people, by acknowledging them prophets, were not tied to defend them by force against the public power vested in the prince, in case it were abused to destroy them or bring their doctrine to no effect; as it is manifest, by the sufferings of the prophets in the Old Testament; but to reform themselves according to their doctrine, in their own particulars, and to expect the reformation of the people from those that had the power of it. And, therefore, it is extremely inconsequent, that, by their example, in the time of Christianity, preachers should make the personal actions or public government of their lawful sovereigns, the subject of their sermons, seeing that all parts of

Christianity may be thoroughly taught the people, and every person of the people as fully understand how grievous every sin is, as if they be stirred to malign and detest their superiors, by being told of their sins. How much more, when the actions in their whole kinds are not sins, but may be involved with such circumstances as make them consistent with Christianity? Besides, seeing it is not every preacher that is to regulate the proceedings of the Church in such sins of public persons as appear to destroy Christianity; to run before the public censure of the Church, in declaring what it ought to do, is not the zeal of a Christian, but such a scandal, as leaves the person that does it liable himself to censure.

The sin of will-worship, which I acknowledge, (p. 153), is as far distant from that voluntary service of God under the gospel, which answers to the voluntary sacrifices of the law, in my meaning, as it is in deed. For, as the law had voluntary sacrifices, or free-will offerings, not commanded by it, but to be offered according to it, the price whereof consisted in the frank disposition of him that offered the same; so can it not be doubted that the sacrifices of Christians—their prayers and their alms, all the works of free bounty and goodness, together with fasting, and single life with continence, and whatsoever else gives men more means and advantages to abound in the same, may be offered to God out of our free-will, not being under any law requiring it at our hands. Only the difference is this, that whereas the sacrifices of

the law are things neither good nor bad, but as they are tendered to God, either in obedience to the law, or according to the same; all sacrifice which we can tender to God under the gospel, must needs consist in the spiritual worship of God, not in the means whereby it is advanced, that is, more plentifully or cordially performed. Now, though the spiritual worship of God is always commanded, yet, seeing it is not commanded to be done and exercised always, it is much in the disposition of Christians what times, what places, what manner, what measure, what circumstances they will determine to themselves (being not always determined by God's law), for the tendering of the sacrifice of Christians, which being so determined, shall be as truly a voluntary sacrifice or free-will offering, as any under the law, and so much more excellent, as the law is less excellent than the gospel. If this may be received to go under the name of will-worship, I am so far from counting will-worship a sin, that I acknowledge that to be the height of Christianity from whence it proceedeth. But I conceive the word is not improperly used, to signify that which the Jews are reproved by our Lord, after the prophet Isaiah, for, because they worshipped God according to doctrines taught by traditions of men. Not because they practised the law according to the determination of the Great Consistory, which, as I have many ways shewed, they had express power by the law to make; and therefore our Lord also commands them to obey (Matt. xxiii. 2); but because they thought there was a

great deal of holiness in practising the precepts of the law precisely as their elders had determined, which, setting aside the obedience of God's ordinance, was nothing in God's esteem, in comparison of that justice, and mercy, and piety, wherein the service of God then, as always, consisted. We cannot but observe, that this sin is taxed by the prophets oftentimes, as well in the practice of those precepts which are expressed in the Scripture of Moses' law, as by our Lord and the prophet Isaiah, in the practice of those which were introduced by human authority, (Psalm xl. 6; l. 8; Is. i. 11; Jerem. vii. 21); and therefore consisteth, not in observing things introduced by men, but in tendering to God, for the service of God, that which was not necessarily joined with the inward holiness of the heart, which God is to be served with. This sin of the Jews, I conceive, is found correspondently in other professions, not only of Gentiles and Mahometans which cannot worship God without it, but also of Christians professing true Christianity, when they worship not God according to it; but, not because they acknowledge human constitutions, which, by God's ordinance, cannot be avoided, but because they may vainly please themselves, in imagining that they please God in observing them, without that disposition of the heart which God is to be served with. And this sin of the Jews, as Eusebius calls ἐθελοθρησκείαν Ἰουδαϊκήν, so Epiphanius also, in some of the ancient heretics, calls it ἐθελοθρησκείαν, or ἐθελοδικαιοσύνην, which satisfies me that it may be called will-worship in English; though, whether the

former voluntary and frank service of God is not also called ἐθελοθρησκεία, I dispute not here.

The reason why the ceremonies of divine service, which are here (p. 156), proved to have been used under the apostles, cannot continue the same in the Church of all times and places, I have briefly expressed (p. 262); so that, notwithstanding the ceremonies of the service of God in public ought to be such, as may conduce to the same end, for which, it may appear those were instituted which were in force under the apostles.

That it is a mistake to think that sovereign powers are called gods in the Scripture, as is said p. 174, appears further by Exod. xxii. 28: "Thou shalt not curse gods, neither shalt thou speak evil of the ruler of thy people." For, in this place, "the prince of the people," is a name common to kings, judges, and all their governors in chief, that were of their own nation, whether absolute, or under strangers. Therefore, the sacrifice enjoined (Levit. iv. 22), belonged to the king, when they were under kings, as the Jews agree. Therefore, it is given the king also; (Ezek. xii. 10; vii. 27; xix. 1); and therefore this law is acknowledged by St. Paul, to belong to the high-priest, (Acts xxiii. 5), because, as I said afore, the high-priests had then the chief power within their own people, as they had upon the return from Babylonia. Wherefore, seeing this precept consists of two parts, the second whereof belongs to the king, the first must belong to the judges of their consistories, according to the resolu-

tion of the Jews, that all, and only judges made by imposition of hands, are called gods in the Scriptures.

That which is here said (p. 185), of the quality of governor under the king of Persia, in which, and by which, Nehemiah restoreth the law, and swears the people to it, is to be compared with that which you find here since in the 75th page of this Review. Whereby, it will rather appear, that he was governor of that province, by the like commission as other governors of provinces were constituted by, in the Babylonian, and after it in the Persian empire, than by any right belonging to him among his own people, such as the posterity of Zorobabel had to be governors of the Jews that remained in Babylonia, when they were privileged to live according to their own laws, by their sovereign. But, whether this or that, as to the point here in hand, both are to the same purpose.

I must not pass over this place without taking into consideration the reasons upon which, and the consequences to which Erastus's opinion seems to be advanced, in the late sharp work "*De Cive*;"* where it is determined, that the interpretation of the Scriptures (for which, I may as well say, the power of giving laws to the Church, seeing the greatest difficulty lies in determining controversies of faith), the constitution of pastors, the power of binding and loosing, belongs to every Christian state, to be exercised by the ministry of pastors of the Church: for, if this may take place, then is all that hath been

* [By Hobbes.]

said to no purpose. And truly, I must embrace and applaud one position, upon which all this proceeds, that the Church, to which any right, or power of acting according to any right, is attributed in the Scriptures, must needs be a *society* that may be assembled, and therefore stands obliged to assemble: but, that hereupon alone it should be inferred, and taken for granted, that therefore a Christian state, and a Christian Church, are both the same thing, distinguished by two several causes and considerations, when both consist of the same persons, I have all the reason in the world to stand astonished. For, it is not the persons, (which are supposed here to be the same), that any question can be made of; neither can the Church and the state be said to be the same thing, because they are all the same. For, we speak not here of the nature of the persons, their souls or bodies, or anything that either of both is endowed with; but we speak here of the quality of a state, or a Church, affecting all those persons together, upon some voluntary act of God, or of themselves, or both, without making any change in the nature of any person so qualified, only supposing the person whose act it is, able to do the act, upon which they are qualified to be a state or a Church; and, by doing it, to oblige or privilege the persons on whom it passes. Which kind of things, are oftentimes, by philosophers, divines and lawyers, called, to very good purpose, "Moral things:" such are all manner of rights, in all manner of societies whatsoever; being nothing else but abilities of

doing something, which are not in other men not endowed with the same. So likewise, seeing that all the objects, of any faculty, natural or moral, any habit of virtue or vice, (or, that which is neither, but consists in skill or knowledge, or any perfection of nature, for which a man is neither good nor bad), may be denominated, and qualified, by the faculties or habits that are exercised upon them by the same reason, as colour is said to be seen, or, as that is said to be right and just, which is done according to justice; therefore, by the same common reason, if there be such a thing as holiness in the souls of men, which disposes them to reverence God, by tendering him that service which may express it, then are the means, and the circumstances, the times, the places, and the persons by which this reverence is publicly tendered to God, capable to be denominated holy; by a moral quality, derived from that holiness which dwells in the souls of Christians, and, not only capably, but actually so qualified in point of right, supposing that which hath been proved (p. 172), that the practice of God's people evidenced by the Scriptures, proves the reverence of the same to be effectual and necessary for the maintenance of that reverence of God, in those acts of his service, wherein the holiness of Christians consisteth.

This though it belong not to my present purpose, I have set down upon this occasion, out of a desire further to declare the nature of that holiness, for which, times, places, and persons, as also all other means, which God is served by, are said to be holy; and for

what reason, I call it (p. 176), sometimes moral, sometimes ecclesiastical holiness, sometimes also relative, as others many times do call it. For, seeing it is grounded upon the relation which is between all faculties, moral, or natural, between all habits of virtue and vice, or whatever else, and the objects which they are exercised about, it is manifest how properly it is called relative. Again, seeing it hath been declared, that those qualifications and denominations which arise upon some act of God, or man, having power to oblige either others or themselves, are therefore called moral, in opposition to such as make a change in the nature of men's souls and bodies, when they become endowed therewith, because these moral qualities accrue, without any change in the nature of them to whom they accrue; therefore, that holiness which belongs to things incapable of that holiness which dwells in the souls of Christians, is properly called moral holiness, as grounded upon the will of God, appearing to have appointed the reverence of them to maintain that reverence of him, wherein holiness consisteth. And, as for this reason, in general, it is called moral holiness, so it is also called ecclesiastical, for the same reason expressed in particular, as depending upon that will of God, by which Christianity and the Church, and the service of God, therein subsisteth. To return then to my purpose, which gave me occasion to declare this here; seeing that, when the question is made, whether the Church and the state, consisting of the same persons, be the same thing or

not, there can be no question understood of the nature, that is, the souls and bodies of the persons, which are supposed to be the same, but of the moral being of a state, whether the same give it the quality of a Church, or not; and, seeing the being of such things depends upon the act by which they are constituted, we have no more to inquire but this, whether the same act constitute a Church which constitutes a state: and then, a very little inquiry will serve to shew that, though all Churches and all states subsist by the act both of God and man, yet they are several acts by which they are states, and by which they are Churches; so several, that the Church subsists by immediate revelation from God, by our Lord and his apostles, which no state doth: and whatsoever it is that makes any man a member of any state, it is not that which makes him a Christian, and so a member of the Church, but something else. And therefore, there is a fault in the reason of the inference propounded, which concludes thus, that a Church must be that which hath power to assemble the persons whereof it consists; now the state is it which hath power to do that. For, as it cannot be denied, that all states must needs have power to assemble themselves, so, it must not be granted that the Church hath not power to do the same; because it hath been proved here from the beginning, that the Church hath power of assembling, not from any state, but immediately and originally from God, whether for the service of God, or for determining whatsoever shall become determinable for the mainte-

nance of unity among all those that are to communicate in the service of God, and the offices of the same. Truly, so long as by circumcision, men became members of a state, and of the communion of God's service, the Church and the state were all one society; as hath often been observed here; for the difference between the law and the gospel, both subsisting by the same act of God, (calling them to be his people, and to inherit the land of promise, both upon condition of keeping his law), and by the same act of the people embracing the same. Which holds not in Christianity addressing itself to all nations, and therefore preserving states in the condition which it finds, and yet founding a society of the Church upon the privilege and charter of assembling for the service of God, and the power which is requisite to preserve the unity of all that assemble in the condition upon which they communicate in the service of God. Which society, as it was visibly distinct from all states, for all the time between our Lord and Constantine; so it is acknowledged, by this author, to have subsisted even under the apostles, when, as he alleges their writings to prove those rights which they attribute to the Church, to belong to those states which are Christian: which, for my part, I very much marvel how he could think fit to do, knowing that such acts as the apostles attribute to the Church, are so far from being the acts of the state under which the Church then was, that they were prohibited by it, so often as the assemblies of Christians were forbidden, as you have seen that many

times they were. By that which hath been said, it may appear what reason ecclesiastical writers had to make a difference between the names of the Synagogue and the Church, appropriating the former to the Jews, and this to the Christians; which I, for my part, so far as custom will give leave, desire to observe; though for the original signification, I see the name of *ecclesia* was at the first most properly attributed to the whole body of God's people assembled together in the wilderness; as, for example, at the giving of the law. For, in all the divers significations in which it is used, speaking of Christianity, there is one and the same consideration of assembling together to be seen, though upon several reasons, and to several purposes from the Synagogue. The whole company of those that shall meet and assemble together in the world to come, is called sometimes the Church, and so is the whole company of the visible Church upon earth; because, though they cannot meet bodily to communicate in the service of God, yet they ought to meet with that judgment and disposition of mind, that they may both communicate bodily in this world when occasion is, and actually meet altogether in the world to come. So is the company of Christians, contained in either barely one city or the head city of a province or nation, called the Church of that city, province, or nation, because they so meet severally, that any of them may assemble with any, because under the same conditions. But when one congregation is called a Church, as sometimes it is in the Scriptures, it is for the same

manner of assembling, as the whole people of Israel was assembled in the wilderness.

These things generally premised, it will not be difficult to defeat the productions of this assumption, in the particulars specified. And first, according to that which is here determined (p. 155), I admit, that the power of interpreting the Scriptures is nothing else but the power of determining controversies of faith; though it is not, as by consequence, to be admitted, that those interpretations which come from this power are as much the word of God, as that which is interpreted by the same, or infallible, or that we are bound to attend to them as much as to the Scriptures themselves. For "the word of God," if we will understand it properly, is that only, and all that which God giveth in commission to be declared and enjoined his people, and therefore this author very skilfully observeth, that "the word of God" in the New Testament, is as much as the Gospel, which God gave in charge to our Lord Christ, and he to his apostles, to be published to the world, with a charge from God to embrace it. For so also, the law was "the word of God" to Moses; and all the revelations granted the patriarchs and prophets, were "the word of God" to them, because by them God declared how he would conduct his people. Whereas, after the prophets of the Old Testament, though we find that there were prophets that spoke by inspiration, not only by Josephus, speaking of those times of God's people whereof there is no mention in the Scriptures, but also by that which is said in the New

Testament, of Simeon and Anna, Zachary and the blessed Virgin, and of the prophets of Churches: yet we do not find it said, that "the Word of the Lord" came to any of them, because they received nothing in charge from God to his people. Wherefore, that which the Church hath received from those persons, that spoke, not only by inspiration and revelation, but also by commission from God, the evidence of which commission containeth all the motives to Christianity, must not be compared with anything, which it may receive in charge any other way, though it be such as may produce an obligation to receive and observe it, of a nature answerable to the ground and intent of it, which I have declared in the place afore-quoted. Neither is it to be said, that God faileth his Church, in anything due to it, upon those promises whereby it subsisteth, if he have not provided it of such a power to be received as infallible; unless we will say, that God hath tied himself to preserve it free from the temptation and trial of heresies and schisms, which he hath sufficiently declared that he never intended to do. Now, that, having determined an infallible power to be requisite, for the determining of matters of faith, by interpretation of the Scriptures, this author, in consequence to his assumptions which I have spoke of, should challenge it to belong to all Christian states, I cannot choose but marvel: seeing, that, as the Scriptures come by revelation and inspiration from God, so whatsoever shall pretend to like authority, must needs proceed from the same: which, if the Church,

that is, all that act upon the interest and title thereof, derived from the immediate appointment of God, do, by their proceedings, disclaim, as I have declared, much more it is to be presumed, that all states, notwithstanding the profession of Christianity, must needs stand obliged to do. For all states content themselves with the procuring of civil justice, for which they are instituted; not tying themselves to question, whether that which is done be agreeable to the will of God, which the Gospel declareth, either for the thing that is done, which the Gospel many times determineth more strictly, than the laws of civil states do, or for the sincerity of intention which it is to be done with. Wherefore, if Christianity come to be limited by the determinations of civil powers, then must the truth of the Gospel, and the spiritual righteousness which it requireth, be measured by those reasons, which the public peace, and civil justice which preserveth the same, may suggest. Whereas it hath been declared, that it is not the bare profession of Christianity, that entitleth any man to any degree of superiority in the Church, but that promotion to all degrees of the clergy, doth, by the original institution and appointment thereof, presuppose some degree of proficience in the understanding and practice of Christianity, rendering them both able and willing to regulate all controversies of Christianity, not according to interest of state, but according to the will of Christ, and that spiritual righteousness which he advanceth. And, though it is many times seen, that secular persons are more

learned and pious in Christianity, than others of the clergy, yet, I suppose, no man of common-sense will presume it so soon of him that is not enabled nor obliged to it by his profession, as of him that is. And when the question is, what is agreeable to the appointment of God in such matters as these, I suppose it is no presumption, that God hath instituted anything because it is possible (for in moral matters, what is absolutely and universally impossible?) but because it is most conducible to the intent purposed. And that to the purposed end, of maintaining the truth of the Gospel, and that spiritual righteousness which it advanceth, it is more conducible, that those things which concern it be determined by those that are enabled by their profession to spend their time in searching the truth; and engaged by the same to advance the spiritual righteousness of Christ, than barely Christians as secular powers. As for the reason of this resolution, because, if the power of determining matters of faith might be in any person not subject to the state which the determination must oblige, all that are to be obliged by it must become thereby subjects to the power that maketh it: as, supposing the temporal power of the pope, it is insoluble, so, supposing what hath been premised, it ceaseth. For seeing nothing prejudicial to the public peace, or to the powers of the world that maintain the same, can be within the power of the Church to determine, it cannot be prejudicial to any Christian state to receive the resolutions and determinations of ecclesiastical matters from councils, which may consist of persons

not subject to them, as well as of such as are. For if anything prejudicial to the public peace, and lawful powers that maintain it, be advanced under pretence of Christianity, that is, if this power be abused, then have the secular powers right to God, as well as power to the world, to punish such attempts; but the Church, neither right to God, nor power to the world, of resisting them, though their power be ill used, to the suppression of Christianity, and of that ecclesiastical power that standeth by it, because it is to be maintained by suffering the cross, and not by force.

As for the power of binding and loosing, it is very well understood to consist, as well in judging that which is questioned to be consistent or inconsistent with that Christianity which a man professeth, as in remitting or retaining sin, that is, in allowing or voiding the effect of baptism, which is the communion of the Church. But, whereas it is said, that the first is the right of the state, the second the office of the pastors of the Church, I demand, whether these pastors shall have power to dissent, in case the judgment of the state agree not with their own, or not: for that this may fall out it is manifest, and that any man, by his quality in the Church, should be bound to proceed in remitting and retaining sin, according to his own judgment, when as, by his subjection to the state, he is bound to proceed according to the judgment thereof, is an inconvenience as manifest. Whereas, that a man should be bound, by his obligation to the Church, to proceed according to his

own judgment in Church matters, and by his subjection to the state, to suffer for it, when it is contrary to the judgment thereof, is so far from being an inconvenience, that it is the necessary consequence of bearing Christ's cross.

The same reason takes place in that which is said, that the election of pastors belongs to the state, and the consecration to pastors. For I have often shewed in the premises, that imposition of hands is a sign of consent to the constituting of those who receive the same, implying a power of dissenting, for the use whereof they are to render account if it be used amiss. And truly that Paul and Barnabas should be called apostles, (Acts xiv. 4, 14), in regard of their sending by the Holy Ghost, (Acts xiii. 1), I count it not strange; for the extent of the word, and the use thereof, will bear it; though it is manifest, that otherwise Barnabas had commission from the Church at Jerusalem, (Acts xi. 22): that is, from the apostles: "Paul, not from men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father that raised him from the dead," (Gal. i. 1), though acknowledged first (as to the commission which he received with Barnabas, Acts xiii. 2), by the Church of Antiochia, but afterwards in the right of the twelve apostles by themselves at Jerusalem. (Gal. ii. 9.) But I count it strange, that, to prove the power of the state in choosing pastors, it should be alleged that this dictate of the Holy Ghost, by which Paul and Barnabas were set apart to the work for which they were designed, (Acts xiii. 2), was to be acknowledged for

the dictate of the Holy Ghost, by the Church of Antiochia. I have shewed, that, under the Old Testament, the consistory were to judge of prophets, and to obey them being received, which power was sufficiently abused among them. I do believe also, that there was means given the Church to be resolved in the same, that the precept of the apostle, (1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 John iv. 1), tendeth to that effect, that the grace of discerning spirits (1 Cor. xii. 9), was to such a purpose. I remember the words of St. Ambrose upon the beginning of St. Luke, speaking of the Old Testament: "Erat autem populi gratia discernere spiritus, ut sciret quos in prophetarum numerum referre deberet quos tanquam bonus nummularius reprobare."* "Now," saith he, "it was a grace that the people had to discern spirits, so as to know whom to reckon among the prophets, whom, like a good banker, to refuse." And I have found in a written copy, containing expositions of divers Greek words of the Old and New Testaments, this gloss, *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων· διαγνῶσις τῶν τε ἀληθινῶς καὶ ψευδῶς προφητευομένων*; that is, "discerning spirits," (spoken of 1 Cor. xii. 9), "is distinguishing between those that prophesied truly and falsely;" and this I believe to be St. Paul's meaning, because of the correspondence of that which St. Ambrose relateth of the synagogue. I must, therefore, needs believe, that the Church was provided by God of means to be

* [In the original: ut cognosceret quos referre deberet in numerum prophetarum, quos autem uasi bonus nummularius improbaret.]

resolved, who spoke by the Holy Ghost, who only pretended so to do: but that Christian states should have power to elect pastors, because Christian Churches were able to judge whom the Holy Ghost had elected, whom not, is a consequence which I understand not. For as it was then one thing to elect, another to discern whom the Holy Ghost had elected, so a Christian state is now far another thing, than the Church of Antiochia was at that time.

Neither is it anything available to this purpose, which this author laboureth to prove, that the sovereign power, together with the power of interpreting the Word of God, were both in the high-priests of the Jews, and afterwards in the kings of God's people, after that they were established. For, by the particulars here declared from p. 182, it will appear that it was no otherwise in the kings of God's people than it is now in Christian princes and states, (excepting that the law was given to one people, the gospel sent to all nations); to wit, as for the power of enforcing God's law in the way of fact: whereas the power of determining the law of God in the way of right, was as much estated upon the consistories of that people by God's laws, as the power of giving rules to the Church, is now upon the synods of the same. Neither is the people of Israel a priestly kingdom, as Moses calls them, (Exod. xix. 6), because the priests were to be kings of them. For the original imports a kingdom of priests, which Onkelos translates kings and priests; as also the New Testament. (Apoc. i. 6; v. 10). Which, if it signify that

all the Israelites should be both kings and priests, then certainly it enforceth, not that their high-priests should be their kings, but that they should be kings, because redeemed from the servitude of strangers, to be a people, lords of themselves; and priests, because redeemed to spend their time in sacrificing and feasting upon their sacrifices, (which is the estate under the figure whereof God promiseth unto them, that which he meant to his Church, and they still expect under their Messiah, (Is. lxi. 6), though they sacrificed not in person, but by their priests appointed in their stead, by imposition of the elders' hands. (Num. viii. 10.) As for the charge of Joshua, to go in and out at the word of Eleazar, (Num. xxvii. 21), it is expressly declared there to be said, in regard of the oracle of God by Urim and Thummim, which the high-priest was to declare, as you see by Deut. xxxiii. 8; and Joshua to consult in all his undertakings. For this is one of the principal reasons why the government of that people, before they had kings, was, as Josephus calls it, *θεοκρατία*, that is, the empire of God; because he, by his oracles of Urim and Thumim, prescribed how they were to proceed in their public affairs. Another reason being this, because he stirred them up judges when he pleased, which being of his immediate appointment, are so far acknowledged by him, that when they were weary of Samuel and desired a king, God declared that it was not Samuel, but himself, whom they refused. And therefore, it is not to be said, that of right the high-priests ought to have had the power, though *de facto*

the judges had it during their time: for, if it be said that the Israelites cast off God, (Jud. ii. 10), because they would not be subject to the high-priest, but embraced the judges, it could not be understood how they should refuse God by refusing Samuel that was one of the judges. Therefore the sovereign power was of right in the judges, for which it is said, (Jud. xvii. 6; as also xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25), that there was no king in Israel—speaking of the time before the judges, (when Josephus and all the circumstance shews these things fell out), though they were not always obeyed, (Jud. ii. 17), because, as prophets, they laboured to recall the people from their idolatries.

That which is here said of the marriage of Boaz and Ruth, (p. 195), seems to be confirmed by the opinion of Epiphanius, that our Lord was invited to the marriage at Cana in Galilee, that, as a prophet, he might bless the marriage.* For what is this but the same that the Church always practised afterwards in blessing marriages, to signify that they were approved to be made according to the law of God? For which reason also, the custom of celebrating marriages with the sacrament of the Eucharist, was established, that the power of the keys, from which the communion of the Eucharist proceeds, might declare thereby an approbation of that which was done.

* [Hær. li. § 30.]

CHAPTER V.

SEEING it is here declared, (p. 206), that whosoever thinks himself authorised by his religion, to unsettle the public peace, or to maintain his religion by force, his civil obedience being dispensed with by the same, is thereby an enemy to the state, and liable to temporal punishment, according to the degree of that which he doeth; it may be thought requisite here, to resolve two cases, that may be put in this point. The one, whether the enemies of the religion in force, may become liable to punishment, for blasphemies and slanders upon the religion of the state; the other, to what temporal punishment men may become liable, by exercising their religion, not being expressly permitted by the state to be exercised. To the first, my answer is resolutely affirmative. For, seeing that Christianity enjoineth us to seek the good of all that are enemies to it; it is not imaginable that it should oblige any Christian to defame or blaspheme any contrary religion, seeing that must needs redound to the disgrace of them that profess it, most of all if they be the public powers that maintain it; all irreverence of whom, upon what cause soever, must needs tend to weaken the arm of government, and thereby to unsettle the public peace. And therefore, you see what testimony the apostles have from a stranger (Acts xix. 37): "You have

brought these men that are neither church-robbers nor blasphemers of your goddess:" by which instance we may be assured, that Christianity obligeth us not to seek by scorn to bring any man out of love of a false religion, if they did it not to idolaters. And truly, though the Israelites are commanded to destroy all monuments of idolatry with all the scorn possible; yet, that is to be understood in the Land of Promise, which God made them masters of, upon that condition; but, under other dominions, it is provided by the second commandment, "Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them:" not, "Thou shalt not blaspheme them, or shew despite against them." Josephus, indeed, interpreteth that precept of the law, "Thou shalt not curse gods," to mean, that they are forbidden thereby to blaspheme the gods of the Gentiles. Wherein, though it seems he flattereth the Romans, (for you may have seen another sense thereof before) yet, this interpretation is presumption enough, that they were not commanded by the law to do it. I will not, therefore, condemn the Christians of the East, for singing to Julian's face, (as the Ecclesiastical Histories tell us), "Their idols are silver and gold;" and, "Confounded be all they that worship carved images." Because we know particularly, that the Christians of his time were resolved to suffer for their Christianity, rather than to defend themselves by force; and therefore, cannot interpret it to be done in scorn to him, but to protest their resolution against heathenism; as also many zealous acts of the

primitive martyrs must be interpreted. But, I will make this inference, to prove, that in point of right, which you have seen was true *de facto*, that, because Christianity preserveth the estate of the world in the same terms, and under the same powers, which it findeth; therefore, it enjoineth no man to blaspheme the religion of the lawful powers of the world, because thereby, themselves would be brought into contempt, to the undermining of the obedience due to them. And therefore, this inference proceedeth not upon supposition of the truth of Christianity, but upon a reason common to all civil societies, whether Christian, or otherwise, which Christianity prejudiceth not, but maintaineth. As for the second doubt, it must also be resolved, that those whom Christian states hold themselves not enabled to put out of the world, or out of the state for professing any religion; those they cannot so punish for the exercise of that religion which they profess. For, if it be so necessary for all men to profess and exercise some religion, that they should be out of the protection of the law of nations, that should profess to have none; and that to profess a religion and not to live according to it, is a bare profession, that is a presumption, that he hath none that doth so; it follows, that civility, and the law of nations, will enable all men to live after the religion which they profess; and therefore enable no state so to punish men for so doing. In the meantime, no state is hereby obliged to leave the exercise of other religions beside that which itself professeth, either

free or public. For, I conceive the exercise of religion is understood to be free, in regard of those penalties which are in the power of every state to inflict on those that conform not to their own, according to that which hath been said. And to be public is a further privilege, though it necessarily import no more than toleration containeth. For the Christians before Constantine had not only Churches, and those endowed with lands and revenues, as it appeareth by Eusebius; but those lands and revenues were the common goods of those Churches, merely because it was counted sacrilege to spoil that religion which was not counted sacrilege. And yet, this was no more than toleration; for, when the sovereign power would have Christianity go for sacrilege, immediately they were spoiled of all under Diocletian.

That which is here resolved (p. 209), that, merely a false opinion in matter of religion is not to be punished with banishment, which is civil death to the state whereof a man is, occasions a question concerning Athanasius, banished to Triers by Constantine; and the same Athanasius and many more, by Constantius, Valens, and others, wherein the injustice of the punishment lay, whether the power was only abused, or also usurped. Whereunto it is to be answered, that the sentence of Constantine upon Athanasius, neither imported banishment, nor passed merely in consideration of his opinion in religion. For, seeing the place of abode to which he was confined, was within the state whereof he was; so that,

not changing laws, or language, (for he must needs be understood over all the Roman empire), he could not be said to live among them that were barbarous to him, or he to them barbarous; he continued free of the state whereof he was afore, though not in possession and use of that rank and estate which he bore in it. As for the cause of this sentence, it is manifest by the relation, that it passed in consideration of the public peace, which seemed to suffer, because Athanasius submitted not the trust which he had from the Church to the judgment of the emperor, in abandoning that which the council of Nice had done in deposing Arius. But the ground of Constantius's sentence upon Liberius of Rome, and Eusebius of Vercellæ, was merely for acting according to their opinion in religion. Liberius, for not condemning Athanasius in the common cause of the Church; Eusebius, for voting according to his judgment in the council at Milan. As for the sentence upon Liberius, it is the same with that upon Athanasius; but that upon Eusebius, being condemned to live in the deserts of Egypt, seems to have as much difference from it, as there was between *relegatio* and *deportatio* among the Romans; the one being but a confinement to a strange people under the same state, the other to no people, but to some desert island, or inhabitable place, such as the deserts of Egypt were, which is, to be removed from the society of civil people. Wherefore, as it is no inconvenience to grant, that Constantine used ill the power that he had; so that Constantius usurped

that which he had not; seeing, we know, that the Arians under him so persecuted the Catholic Christians, as I have proved, that no sovereign power can allow any subject to be persecuted for religion's sake, neither ever did the Catholics persecute them again. By the premises it may appear, that the punishment which is commonly called by the term of banishment, may, by the disposition of sovereign powers, be so aggravated, or so lightened by the circumstances, that the right of inflicting it may be sometimes said to be abused, sometimes usurped. Therefore, my position, as the reason of it, proceeds only upon that which amounts to civil death, depriving a man of his right of continuing free of the state whereof he is.

I cannot here pass by that passage of Synesius, (Epist. lvii. κατὰ Ἀνδρονίκου), wherein he is thought so plainly to determine, that clergymen are incapable of employment in secular affairs; whereof here, (p. 216), be it but to shew, how men's trust is abused when they examine not such allegations. I grant these are his words: ὅτι πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱεροσύνῃ συνάπτειν τὸ κλώθειν ἐστι τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα; that, "to join civil skill with the priesthood, is to spin two wools together, that will not make one thread." I grant, he saith, that the Egyptians and Hebrews had once priests for their kings; but that God parted them, because his work was done with human weakness. But, shall I count that to be against God's law in Synesius's opinion, which he counts those bishops happy that could go through with? which he himself

declares that he was not desirous to lay aside from his own care; which he desires a coadjutor to be joined with him to assist him in? The case was this: It was a part of the bishop's office, as still it ought to be, to intercede with the civil powers for favour to all charitable causes; for, among the ancient people of God it was the prophets' office, (who may well be called the preachers of Christianity during that time), as you see 2 Kings iv. 12; and therefore, of duty, belongs to the chief doctors of it now. In the African canons, it is divers times provided, that it belong to the bishop's charge. Synesius finding himself foiled in the execution hereof by Andronicus, makes a proposition to his Church, that he may have one to assist him in it, that he might not be diverted from his priestly office for it; intending, notwithstanding, to attend it himself, as he should find opportunity so to do. Is this the proposition of one that thought it against God's law, for a bishop or clergyman to do it? For, certainly, the coadjutor which he desires, must be understood to be a clergyman, because it is the interest of the Church, in which he is to act; whereupon the Church proceeds there to excommunication, because wronged in it by Andronicus. So likewise St. Augustine may complain of the multitude of business which diverted him from more spiritual employment, to end the suits of Christians, which then resorted to the bishop; but, did St. Augustine think it against God's law, that he should be exercised in it, and yet continue in that exercise? That is the point here questioned,

whether against God's law or according to it? As for the point of expedience, I dispute it not here; though, if Synesius be against that, a man may very well say to his reasons, that, for any man to act in secular matters towards an interest of power or profit, is a thing inconsistent with the priesthood, which is to act towards the interest of Christianity; and therefore God hath parted all such employment from the government of his Church; but, that the rulers of Christianity should act in the interest of Christianity, and to the advantage thereof in secular, especially, in public affairs, is that which all parties now declare to be well done, when it is done by law, by doing it themselves without law.

The distance between civil and military employment among the Romans, (whereof p. 219), appears by the provisions introduced by the emperors in favour of soldiers, that their last wills should be good, though made without the solemnities of law; which the laws themselves, *ff. de Testam. Milit.* l. i. *Instit. ead.* vi. declare, was provided, in regard to the simpleness or innocence of soldiers, that is, because of the ignorance in the laws, proceeding from that strict attendance upon their colours, to which soldiers stood obliged all the time of their service, which was, with most of them, the greatest part of their lives. It is not my purpose to say, that the clergy are not to be so constant to the service of the Church, as soldiers to their colours; but, that the service of the Church, when the state is Christian, requires not that distance from civil business, as the service of the wars among the Romans. If the ser-

vice of the Church consisted only in preaching, it would be much otherwise; but, if the service of the Church consist in the maintenance and advancement of Christianity; then, neither can the clergy understand wherein consists the interest of Christianity, without understanding the affairs of the world, wherein it is seen, neither can they act towards the maintenance and advancement thereof, without understanding it. Wherefore, though it appear, not only by St. Cyprian, but by Can. Apost. lxxxi. lxxxiii. and others, that, when states were not Christian, the clergy were forbidden secular business; yet, when the state is Christian, to forbid it were to forbid the means of maintaining Christianity in the dispatching of such business.

To that which is acknowledged p. 221, ch. v. that no part of the Church can be concluded but by the act of the synod respective to it; I add further, that the act thereof cannot pass but by the greater part of it; for, unless the consent of the whole follow the consent of the greater part, in doing those acts which must oblige the Church; as, in making canons and ordinations, it cannot appear how the precept of the apostles, of obeying the present rulers of the Church, is neglected in any schism that is effected by any part of them; and, by consequence, there would be no such crime as that of schism in any such case. As, for example, in the case of the Church of Corinth, upon which the epistle of Clemens was written and sent, which he declares (p. 62), when he says, that "it is much a shame for the profession

of Christians, that the ancient Church of Corinth should maintain a faction against the presbyters, for one or two persons :"† to wit, of the same rank of presbyters, as we must needs understand it. When, therefore, both sides follow some of the rulers of the Church, how should schism be incurred, if, by that precept, the lesser part were not obliged to be concluded by the greater, in things not determined by God's law? So, in the ordination of Novatianus, how shall it be taken for schismatical, being done by three bishops, unless we grant that the lesser part is to be concluded by the greater, under the pain of incurring the crime of schism? Thus, that which is here propounded, (p. 201-202), proceedeth upon the same ground with that which followeth, (p. 253-254), which to confirm, I add here a memorable passage out of the said epistle of Clemens, whose doctrine being received from the very mouths of the apostles, must needs be accounted their own. Thus, then, Clemens (p. 54) : *οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν* (so it must be read, and not, *ἡμῖν*) *εὐηγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐξεπέμφθη ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφότερα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος Θεοῦ. Παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες καὶ πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πιστωθέντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐξῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύ-*

* [Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίαν δι' ἣν ἡ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. § 47.]

ειν.* "Our apostles received the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ from God. And so Christ was sent forth from God, and the apostles from Christ: thus both were orderly done by the will of God. Having, therefore, received instructions, and being assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed by the word of God, they went forth preaching, that the kingdom of God was coming. Preaching, then, through countries and cities, they constituted the first fruits of them overseers and ministers of those that should believe." This he thus prosecutes (p. 57): *καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπισκοπῆς. διὰ ταύτην οὖν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν δεδώκασιν ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσιν διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν.*† "And our apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife about the name of bishop; and for that cause, perfectly foreknowing it, they constituted the aforesaid, and gave order for the future, that when they should fall asleep, other approved persons should succeed into their ministry. Those, therefore, that were constituted by them, or afterwards by other approved persons—we conceive to be unjustly put out of their ministry." The sense of these words is somewhat obscure, by reason of the word *μεταξύ*, which signifieth here, *afterwards*, as in Acts xiii. 42, "*Παρεκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον λαληθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.* "The Gentiles besought that these things

* [§ 42.] † [§ 44.]

might be spoken to them the sabbath after :" and so Cappellus and De Dieu upon that text of the Acts, have observed that μεταξὺ is used in the same signification by Josephus. But here the case is plain, that it cannot be otherwise understood, because of that which follows, τινὲς καταστραθέντας μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων, which must needs be those that were made afterwards. Now the word ἐπινομή, so far as I can learn, is nowhere read in all the Greek tongue but here, so that we must take the signification either from the original, or from the consequence of the discourse. The original bears the sense, which I conceive in translating it, *an Order*, well enough, being the same with νομός. But the consequence of the discourse necessarily requires it: for what reason doth he express, why those whom he speaks of should be thought unjustly removed, but because the apostles had appointed, that those whom they constituted should be succeeded by others? I grant that he allegeth other considerations, aggravating the fault of the Corinthians in putting out their governors, that is, their bishop and presbyters, for one or two of the presbyters; but he hath said nothing by all this which I have here produced, unless we grant, that it was not in their power to do it, merely in this consideration, because they succeeded such as were constituted by the apostles. For the apostles had done nothing, in appointing that others should succeed them whom they constituted, if this succession could be voided by any power but that which appointed it.

From the distinction advanced (p. 223) between those

things that are commanded every Christian, and those things that are commanded the body of the Church, perhaps a resolution may be deduced, what is absolutely necessary to salvation, and what not: and also, what is absolutely necessary to salvation to be known, and what not. The book "De Cive" maintains this position, that there is but one article of the faith necessary to salvation, which is, that our Lord Jesus is the Messias. But the sufficience of it is further declared to imply, the receiving of Christ for a doctor sent by God, in all things, without exception, to be believed and obeyed, which manifestly infers the profession of all Christianity, and the sincerity of the same. And, upon these terms, I see no reason how to deny, that, upon this condition, the thief upon the cross is promised life everlasting, and the eunuch of Æthiopia admitted to baptism, that is, to remission of sins, and the title to life everlasting: according to that which is said here (p. 13), that, in danger of death, or when there appeared an ardent zeal to Christianity, men were admitted to baptism without regular trial, to wit, upon the free and zealous profession of Christianity. So Philip is ordered by the Spirit to give baptism on the like terms as the Church used to do. But this makes no alteration in the necessity of those things, that are to be known and undertook by those that regularly come to baptism, which continue no less necessary to salvation, though the obligation of knowing and acknowledging them cannot take place, either at all in them that die immediately, or in them that are thus baptised before their bap-

tism. It may then, with a great deal of reason, be said, that all that, and only that which is contained in the covenant of baptism, is necessary to salvation, among which is the unity of the Church, and the obligation of every Christian to contribute towards the preservation of it; but otherwise, what this covenant containeth, this is not the place to dispute.

Some of the particulars remembered, (p. 233), that are in the Scriptures, and yet oblige not the Church, deserve to be considered more at large. That the apostle speaks not barely of the sacrament of the Eucharist, (1 Cor. xi.), but of the celebration thereof at their feasts of love, besides that which hath been said upon divers occasions in this discourse, appears further by this gloss, which I find in the written copy lately alleged: κυριακὴν δεῖπνον τὸ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἄριστον. "The Lord's Supper," saith he, is "to dine in the Church." Whereby it may appear, that the sacrament of the Eucharist is properly called "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," but not properly the "Supper of the Lord." There is nothing can be propounded in a more express form of precept, than the decree of forbearing things sacrificed to idols, by the council at Jerusalem; and yet it is manifest that it was but local: for, if it had obliged the Church of Rome, St. Paul could not have given them another rule, not to condemn one another—Jews and Gentiles, for eating or not eating. For, that this case is comprised within that rule, it appeareth, because St. Paul is afraid that Jewish Christians should fall away from Christianity, as

enjoining to renounce the law, and, by consequence, the author of it, which was manifestly the scandal of those at Jerusalem. But, if it had obliged the Church at Corinth, much less could St. Paul have given leave to eat things sacrificed to idols materially, as God's creatures, which you have seen that he doth. That, under the apostles, baptism was drenching of all the body under water, appears by St. Paul's discourse, (Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5); for, how should the death and resurrection of our Lord Christ be represented by baptism otherwise? And so the exception that is taken against the baptism of Novatianus, is, that he was ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσον περιχυθείς, (Eusebius, Eccles. History, vi. 43). "Had water poured about him in bed, because of his sickness." So the solemnity of drenching was due; though, I shewed afore, that the substance of the exception is grounded upon the weakness of his resolution to Christianity, who would not undertake to profess it while persecution appeared: for, if that had not been, the solemnity would not have been avoided. The veil of women in the Church, which the apostle requires (1 Cor. xi.), that it was to cover their faces, though laid upon the head, I will seek no other argument but Tertullian, though it were possible to find more. For he, in his book "De Velandis Virginibus," proveth, that the virgins were not exempted from wearing the like, because at Corinth, whither St. Paul directed this charge, they were not. And this the property of the Greek seemeth to argue, when the apostle calleth it, κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν,

and κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, (1 Cor. xi. 4, 7), which differs something from ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, this signifying, that which is only upon the head, (and so was the veil; and therefore the woman is said ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, v. 10); the other, that which is so upon the head, that it comes down from the head, as to the purpose, before the face. Neither do I see any reason, why we may not understand the apostle, when he says, that "the women ought to have power on their head because of the angels," to have respect unto the legend reported in the book of Enoch, (which we see was read in the Church in the apostles' time, by the second Epistle of St. Peter, and that of St. Jude), of those angels that are reported there to have been seduced by the beauty of women, out of Gen. vi. 2; not as if the apostle did suppose that report to be true, or did intend to give credit to the book, but that, by alluding to a passage commonly known, he may very well be thought to intimate, that a like inconvenience to it, (not disputing whether true or not, for the present), might fall out in the Church. For so, when he saith, that the fathers drank of the rock that followed them in the wilderness, (1 Cor. x. 4), it is not, I suppose, his intent to affirm the truth of that which the Jews still tell; and therefore without doubt did tell before St. Paul's time, that the water followed the fathers over mountains and valleys, in their journey to the Land of Promise, but, that the fathers drank of that water, which the Jews say followed them. For, if the Jews themselves, the learned Buxtorff, in his preface to the great Lexi-

con, is of opinion, that they do not relate such fables as stories, but as parables; and I conceive, I have met with some things in their writings that seem to make it probable. So again, when St. Peter and St. Jude cite the book of Enoch, it is not their intent to credit it, or tie us to believe that which they cite out of it, but to argue thus from it, that, if those that read it, cannot but applaud the decorum which it keeps—making the good angels so reverent, that they would not curse or blaspheme Satan—what are we to think of those whom they speak of, that blasphemed either secular powers, as it is commonly understood, or, which perhaps is more probable, the good angels? And thus by the way, you see how to answer the reason, for which some stick to receive these epistles for canonical Scripture, though it hold also in divers of St. Paul's, in which are many sayings alleged out of apocryphal Scriptures. And thus, the apostle's expression will be most artificially modest—supposing his meaning to be only this—that women ought to be veiled, because of that which we read in the book of Enoch, to have befallen the angels. Now, in those countries where the veil was not used at the receiving of Christianity, it seems this precept of St. Paul was not held to oblige. As for men covering or uncovering their head in preaching, it can be nothing to St. Paul's meaning; because uncovering the head in sign of reverence, was a custom unknown in his time. Thus you see, these particulars, propounded in the form of precepts, notwithstanding, do not oblige the Church.

Those that scruple the superiority of bishops, as a step to bring in Antichrist, are not only to consider that which is said here (p. 235), that the Socinians have the same scruple of the substance of Christianity, but also that which some of the sects of this time give out, as you see in the beginning of this Review, that the making of the Church a society or community, was the beginning of Antichrist, which I have showed, was the act of our Lord and his apostles; and also, that which Erastus objecteth unto the presbyteries, that by the means of excommunication, the papacy, which is the power of Antichrist, was advanced. Whereby he hath requited all their aspersions upon episcopacy, and showed all the world, that the imputation of Antichrist is a saddle for all horses; that it is *argumentum galeatum*, a reason that will serve to discredit any adversary, if it may have passport, without showing, by the Scriptures, wherein the being of Antichrist consisteth.

And herewith my purpose was to rest contented for the present, thinking this enough for this particular cause, to answer the objection of Antichrist with. But I have considered since, that the whole credit of the ancient Church, and the benefit that might redound to the resolution of all differences and difficulties, from the acknowledgment thereof, but in the nature of historical truth, is utterly lost to us, by the means of this prejudice. In particular, that, by the papers which passed between his late majesty, of happy memory, and Master Alexander Henderson lately published, it appears, that the whole issue of

that dispute ended in it. Upon these considerations therefore, I have thought fit further to answer, by denying the truth of this interpretation of St. Paul and the Apocalypse; and to justify this denial, by propounding so probable a meaning of those prophecies to another effect, as all those that apply them to the papacy do show they could never attain to, because they are fain to prophecy themselves for the meaning of part of them, which they confess is not fulfilled. And this I do here the rather, because, hereby, I shall declare the utmost of that argument, which I have used for the interest of secular powers in Church matters, grounded upon the prophecies of the calling of the Gentiles, whereby God, declaring his will of bringing states to Christianity, declareth by consequence, that he calleth them to the same interest in matters of religion, which we know was exercised by the kings of his ancient people.

And hereof the Apocalypse will make full proof, being nothing else but the complement of all the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the calling of the Gentiles, and therefore fulfilled in the subduing of the Roman empire to Christianity, and the vengeance taken upon the persecutors thereof: which, though it cannot be fully proved, without expounding all and every part of it to this effect, yet because, by the main hinges upon which it turns, reasonable men may perceive, that it cannot nor ever will be expounded to any other purpose, I will stop here awhile to show this, that men for the future may advise, before they act upon supposition of such uncertain conceits.

I begin with the opening of the first seal (Apoc. vi. 1, 2), because as our Saviour Christ rides forth, thereupon, at the beginning, so at the end of the prophecy (xix. 11) he appears again, riding on the white horse, which he appears mounted on at the beginning: so that he which went forth to conquer at the first, returns to take vengeance at the last, as he is there described. In the next place, I will not much entreat any man to grant me, that the souls under the altar (vi. 9), are the martyrs which suffered for the Gospel, under the Roman emperors, in the ten persecutions: for, that St. John, addressing this prophecy to the Churches of Asia (i. 11), and that with a promise of happiness to them that should read and keep it (i. 3), should not speak of things done during those times when those Churches stood, and wherein they were concerned, is a thing that no common-sense can imagine. God, then, being importuned by the blood of the martyrs, showeth that he determines to take vengeance of the same. Which he further declares, by the vision of seven angels, ready to blow seven trumpets (Apoc. viii. 2). For with these seven appears another, that puts much incense to the prayers of the saints, upon the golden altar before the throne. What prayers of the saints, but those which the souls of the martyrs had made for vengeance before? For immediately thereupon, the said angel takes the censor, upon which he had put incense, to the prayers of the saints (ver. 3), and fills it with fire from the altar, and throws it upon the earth, and there comes forth noise, thunder,

lightning, and earthquake (Apoc. viii. 5), the figures of this vengeance. Besides, it appears, that after the six seals, he proceeds to declare the vengeance promised the martyrs, because immediately after the sixth seal, there appear four angels ready to destroy the earth. (Apoc. vii. 1.) But, because God would shew his prophet, that he meant as well to preserve a number of his own, as to take vengeance upon the persecutors, therefore he suffers them not to proceed till his own be marked. These prayers are therefore called also the prayers of all the saints, (Apoc. viii. 3), to shew us that, though they are expressed at the opening of the fifth seal, to be only the prayers of the martyrs, (Apoc. vi. 9), yet we are to understand, that those which are sealed and saved from the vengeance inflicted on the persecutors, do join in the same; for the martyrs that had long white robes given them, (Apoc. vi. 11), do appear again, praising God in those white robes. (Apoc. vii. 9, 14.) But we must needs imagine, that the meaning of the vision is, that those which were sealed and saved joined also in the same praises of God. For, Apoc. xiv. 1, 3, where the same one hundred and forty-four thousand that were sealed afore, appear again, and immediately the same voice of God's praises is heard, (like the noise of harpers, but as loud as thunder, or as many waters); it is said, that no man could learn the song, but the one hundred and forty-four thousand, redeemed from the earth. So then, both the martyrs and those that are sealed join in the praises of God, therefore in the prayers

also; for the fulfilling whereof, those praises are tendered, which are therefore called the prayers of all the saints, because, as well those that were sealed and saved, as those that suffered martyrdom, are to be conceived to join in them, as well as in the praises of God. And therefore, the plagues which they procure began from the going forth of the gospel; because from thence began the sufferings of the martyrs, which appeared at the beginning of the fifth seal, as also the praises tendered to God by those that were sealed and escaped; though they were not to be accomplished, but with the number of their brethren, that were to be slain as well as themselves. Now the sum of the prophecy being propounded in the figure of a book with seven seals, which none but the Lamb could open, (Apoc. v.), the effect of the seventh is divided into seven trumpets, wherewith seven angels publish the vengeance which God hath promised to take upon the persecutors of his martyrs, at the opening of the fifth seal. (Apoc. v. 9, 10, 11; viii. 2.) So that the martyrs being those that suffered by the Roman empire, the vengeance is that which was taken upon the Roman empire. This, as the most judicious of our late expositors confesseth and proveth, so had he considered the consequence of it, he would have found himself constrained, not to part the tenth chapter, and that which followeth, from the rest that went afore, but to expound all to one and the same effect; the oversight whereof, is, in truth, the cause of his own mistake. For, whereas the angel pronounceth

three woes to come upon the sounding of the three last trumpets, (Apoc. viii. 13), two whereof are repeated after the fifth and sixth, (ix. 12; xi. 14); is it not manifest, that the effect of the seventh trumpet is divided into, and comprised in seven vials of the last plagues, (Apoc. xv. 1, 7), as the effect of the seventh seal was in seven trumpets? otherwise, how comes it to pass, that, where the third woe is proclaimed upon the sounding of the seventh trumpet, (Apoc. xi. 14), there follows nothing but rejoicing? Only because the joy of the saints for the advancement of Christianity, is joined with the woe that comes upon the persecutors. And the joy is mentioned here, the woe deferred, till the seven vials, which contain the effect of the seventh trumpet, come. Therefore they are called the last plagues (Apoc. xv. 1), to wit, of those which the martyrs' blood (Apoc. vi. 9) required. For the plagues as they began, so they must needs be accomplished, after the persecutions. And all this gap between the sixth trumpet, and the seven vials, is made on purpose to reveal more largely, the cause of those last plagues, to wit, the persecution which God punishes. For what signifies the victory of Michael and his angels over the devil and his, and the taking of the child up to God's throne (Apoc. xii. 5, 7), but God's decree that Christianity should prevail? Wherefore, the flight of the woman into the wilderness, following in time the fall of Satan into the world which caused it (Apoc. xii. 6, 9), must needs begin as soon as persecution for Christianity

began. And the same one hundred and forty-four thousand, which were sealed afore the trumpets (Apoc. vii. 4), appear again with the Lamb after six of them (Apoc. xiv. 1), as having escaped the persecution represented in the thirteenth chapter, as well as the plagues attending on it, and therefore were sealed that they might escape it. Therefore, the same persons being preserved, the same persecutors must be understood. The same it is which St. Paul had prophesied of (2 Thess. ii.); though, it seems, there was more revealed to St. John by succession of time. For whereas, by many passages in St. Paul's epistles, it appears, that he had conceived that the end of the world was to come within the age of men then living, perhaps at the fall of Jerusalem, as the apostles also imagined, when they asked our Lord when the destruction of Jerusalem should be, and what the signs of his coming, and the end of the world (Matt. xxiv. 3); to prevent the ill-consequences of this opinion, St. Paul, having the truth further revealed, tells them this must not be, "Till a departure come first, and the man of sin, the son of perdition be revealed, that opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or worshipped, so as to seat himself in the temple of God, declaring himself to be God." Which can be truly said of none but the Roman emperors, who did, indeed, exalt themselves above all called god, that is, all their imaginary idol gods, in that they took upon them to make gods whom they would, and were themselves worshipped with divine honours so much more devoutly, as they

were able to do more good or harm. οἱ λεγόμενοι θεοὶ is here, as 1 Cor. viii. 5, a term of abatement, signifying those that are called gods and are not, in which sense only the apostle could say, "There be gods many, and lords many." For it is a mistake to think that princes are called gods in Scripture, as I have shewed afore. Now the religion of the Gentiles was this, that, when the statue of a god was seated in a temple built to him, thenceforth they thought his deity dwelt in it, and the temple thereby consecrated. In which sense St. Paul speaking of the succession of Roman emperors as of one person, (as Daniel and St. John use to call the body of Chaldean, Persian, Grecian, or Roman emperors, a beast); saith, that he should exalt himself, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι, "so as to seat himself in the temple of God." Which, as it may be understood of any of them, who had all temples built them, and their statues placed in those temples, as the deities of the same; so it may be particularly understood of Caligula, who would have placed his statue in the temple of the true God at Jerusalem, though we suppose the epistle written long after his death. And so, that insoluble difficulty ceases, which Grotius's exposition of this passage suffers; to wit, that this second epistle to the Thessalonians must be written before the death of Caligula, which no man can easily believe; there being between the baptism of our Lord, upon the xv. of Tiberius, according to the gospel, and the death of Caligula, but a matter of eleven years; whatsoever passed between the baptism of Christ and

his death, and between the death of Caligula and the writing of this epistle. This is then the first of the two beasts that St. John sees in the thirteenth of his Revelations, blaspheming God, and persecuting his Church, even the succession of the Roman emperors. The second is the same, whereof St. Paul prophecies in the next words (2 Thess. ii. 8, 9), representing in one person, as before the succession of the Roman emperors, so now the succession of magicians and heathen philosophers, the priests and the divines, whom Satan employed to disguise, interpret, and maintain heathenism in opposition to Christianity. Simon Magus may well be reckoned *imprimis* of the list, together with much of the fry of his Gnostics, who, though wearing the name of Christians, yet practising manifest idolatries with their magic, occasioned the persecution of true Christianity, by compounding a false out of it and heathenism. But Apollonius Tyaneus must needs be accounted of this body, who did many strange things in St. John's time to support heathenism, and was therefore, by the pagans, opposed to our Lord Christ, as you may see by Vopiscus, in the life of Tacitus, and Hierocles' book to that purpose, refuted by Eusebius. After him came all those Pythagorean or Platonic philosophers, who, after St. John's time, as they were the maintainers of heathenism against Christianity, were doubtless also magicians, as their father Pythagoras seems to have been, by his travels in the east, and many passages of his life. Such were Apuleius, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Maximus; and with

such the histories show, that the persecuting emperors, Maxentius, Maximian, Licinius, and Julian, conversed: who, both by learned writings, and by strange works, done by familiarity with unclean spirits, laboured to support the credit of their idols. Two instances I must not conceal in this place, the one recorded by Dionysius Alexandrinus, in an epistle to Hermammon, produced by Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. vii. 10), where he relateth of Valerian, how he cherished the Christians at the first, insomuch that his court was a kind of church. Unto which he addeth as followeth: ἀποσκευάσασθαι δὲ παρέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μάγων ἀρχισυνάγωγος· τοὺς μὲν καθαροὺς ἄνδρας κτίννυσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι κελεύων ὡς ἀντίπαλους καὶ κωλυτὰς τῶν παμμιάρων καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἐπαοιδῶν ὑπάρχοντας. "Now, he that persuaded him to be rid of them, was his doctor, the ruler of the synagogue of Egyptian magicians: who commanded the pure to be slain and persecuted, as opposites and hinderers of their abominable and detestable enchantments:" which, he proceeds to declare what they were, and how they became of no effect wheresoever the Christians came. And perhaps, if we had the epistle at length, it would appear, that Dionysius had interpreted the beast and the false prophet as I do: for the words which Eusebius quotes begin thus: καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποκαλύπτεται καὶ ἐδόθη γὰρ αὐτῷ φησὶ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημιάν καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα δύο.* "Accordingly," saith he, "is revelation made to St. John: for he saith, and there was given

* So in the Original, but in Heinichen's Eusebius, [H. vii. 10. ἐδόθη αὐτῳ ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες—]

him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy, and it was granted him to continue two-and-forty months." Proceeding to that which I reported afore of Valerian in these terms: ἀμφότερα δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ οὐαλεριανοῦ θαυμάσαι, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὗτος ἔσχε συννοεῖν, ὡς ἥπιος καὶ φιλόφρων ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ θεοῦ. "We may well marvel at both in Valerian, and especially we may consider how he stood affected before him (that is, before the magician, whom he spoke of, had access to him), how gentle and kind he was to the men of God." For when he saith, that St. John's Revelations were according to what he there relates, he seems to make Valerian the beast, the magician, the false prophet, whom he speaks of afterwards. The other is out of an edict of Constantine, reported by Eusebius (De Vita Constant. ii. 49, 50), where the great emperor declares to all the empire, that Apollo, that gave answers at Delphi, having answered out of the dark cave there, that the just upon earth hindered him from speaking truth, and that was the reason why his oracles proved false. Diocletian hereupon, πλάνῃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἠπατημένος παρὰ τῶν δορυφορούντων αὐτόν, τίνες ἂν εἶεν οἱ πρὸς τῇ γῇ δίκαιοι πολυπραγμονῶν ἐπυνθάνετο· καί τις τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν θυηπόλων ἀποκριθείς, χριστιανοὶ δήπουθεν, ἔφη· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὥσπερ τι βροχθήσας μέλι τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων εὑρεθέντα ξίφη κατὰ τῆς ἀνεπιλήπτου ὁσιότητος ἐξέτεινεν. "Being deceived in the error of his soul, curiously enquired of those about him, who were the just upon the earth. And one of the priests about him answered, the Christians. But he, swallowing the answer like honey, drew those swords that were found out against injustice,

against blameless piety." And this he professes afore God, that he heard himself, being then a youth, in the emperor's presence. By these two particulars, we may make an estimate how the rest of the persecutions were moved, and therefore, that the body of these philosophers and magicians, the priests and interpreters of heathenism, is called in the revelation the false prophet. So that the subject of St. Paul's and St. John's prophecies is all one; but the beginning of the persecution seems to be more distinctly set down by St. Paul, though more was revealed to St. John concerning the end of it. "And now ye know what stayeth him to be revealed at his own time," saith St. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 6, 7), "for the mystery of iniquity is at work already, only till he that stayeth be set aside, and then shall the wicked one be revealed." *He*, or *that which stayeth*, τὸ κατέχον, ὁ κατέχων, is ὁ νόμος, or the law. For, as long as the Christians were to conform to the law, and not to depart from the Jews, which departure the apostle calls ἀποστασίαν, before the design of Satan to bring this persecution to effect, was but a mystery of iniquity, that is, a wicked design in secret. For, at the first, Christians were in the same condition with Jews, as we see by the edict of Claudius, that all Jews should quit Rome, saith the Scripture (Acts xviii. 2); that the Christians, saith Suetonius. And that the first persecutions were stirred by Jews, we see by St. Paul's epistles, which show us, that those false Christians that conformed to the law, did it, that they might not be persecuted. Therefore, the

breach with the Jews, setting them on work to calumniate the Christians, is justly said to reveal the secret counsel of Satan, to stir persecution against Christianity. Now this breach may well be said to have begun, at or about the very time when St. Paul writ this to the Thessalonians, that the mystery of iniquity was now in working. For it was before this, that St. Paul was constrained to separate his disciples from the synagogue (Acts xix. 9). And it seems to be after this, that the apostle writes to the Hebrews, to come forth of the synagogue (Heb. xiii. 13). So that when Nero persecuted the Christians, both the departure and revealing of this secret counsel of Satan began, till as the breach, so it became open and professed. As for the end, which St. Paul expresseth, when he calleth the beast "the son of perdition," and saith, "that God shall destroy the false prophet with the appearance of his presence," the angel (Apoc. x. 5) seemeth to make it the end of the world, when he sweareth "that time shall be no more." But, when he adds, to limit, and to expound this asseveration, "that time shall be no more, but that the mystery of God, which he gave his servants, the prophets, the good news of, should be accomplished," we understand thereby his meaning to be, that time shall be no more to that effect, but that the ancient prophecies should be quite fulfilled. And what remained to be fulfilled of ancient prophecies, but the calling of the Gentiles, which was accomplished, while the vials were pouring out on the empire for persecuting the Christians? As for the

raising of the dead again, and the judging of them, and the reign of the saints with Christ a thousand years, which necessarily come in upon the seventh trumpet, or the seven vials, (Apoc. xi. 18; xx. 4), there will remain no great difficulty in it, if we think fit to understand it, as the like prophetical visions in Ezekiel and Daniel, from whom it is manifest St. John had it, are evidently to be understood. The judgment which Daniel saw exercised upon the beast, which persecuted the Jews, (Dan. vii. 9,—), if we will not interrupt the consequence of his prophecies, and the coherence of the text in that place, and offer violence to our own senses, is not that which shall come at the general resurrection, but it is that which God shews his prophet, that he would exercise upon the princes that should afflict his people, (Antiochus Epiphanes, by name), and do them justice. Just so are the Christians here judged, and the kingdom given them, as it is said to be given there to the Jews, because they were freed under the Maccabees, and became lords of themselves. And as Ezekiel saw dry bones revive, to figure the restoring of the Israelites (Ezek. xxxvii. 3); so proper is it to understand the dead Christians to rise again, and be judged, and reign, because they are restored to freedom and authority under Constantine. And this it is which is called the first resurrection (Apoc. xx. 6); in respect of the general resurrection, which he saith afterwards, shall not be till after a thousand years (Apoc. xx. 2); so that when he saith, "The rest of the dead revived not till the thousand years

be fulfilled;" the meaning is plain, that we must not mistake this resurrection, for that which shall be at the end of the world. Neither is it said, that the world shall end with the thousand years after this judgment, and Satan sealed up, and Christians advanced to the empire; for Satan must be loosed again, and seduce Gog and Magog to war against Jesusalem, (perhaps, after the Jews are converted to Christianity, for this is all that will remain unfulfilled of the Apocalypse); and this may spend many hundred years, after the thousand are expired. And truly, I would make no great difficulty, if need were, to take the thousand years for an indefinite time, provided, that the time which Christian princes reigned in the world, were not less. But, if we count from the later sack of Rome by Gensericus, to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, there will not be much difference; nor could the term have been put more properly to this prophecy, than by that empire, which ruled those parts; to the Churches whereof, St. John sends his Revelations. And this sense will be a necessary warning to this age, that the Scriptures concur with the works of the time, to shew that Satan is loose. Thus you see, what occasion there was for the opinion of the Chiliasts among the ancient Christians, which, had it proceeded only of a kingdom of the saints, might as well have been understood of the dominion of Christian princes under Constantine, as that of Daniel is rightly understood of the Jews' dominion after Mattathias. And being so understood, it will, without doubt,

add very much to the strength of that motive to Christianity, which is drawn from the prophecies concerning the calling of the Gentiles. But, the imagination of Christ's bodily coming, whereof the Scripture says nothing, as it did, (if we believe Dionysius Alexandrinus in Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. vii. 24), and may add to the truth many things prejudicial to Christianity, so may it also prove pernicious to the state of Christendom. If it be objected, that the desolation of Rome by Alaricus and Gensericus, was nothing to that which is prophecied of Babylon, (Apoc. xvii. xviii.), let the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah against Babylon be considered, which we know stood hundreds of years after Cyrus, so that Scaliger saith, that "we must expect Elias, with the Jews, to reconcile their prophecies with the histories." Nor is it to the purpose, that Babylon was utterly ruined at length; for, should Rome be utterly ruined so long after Alaricus, as Babylon was after Cyrus, they would not think the revelation thereby fulfilled in my sense. No more am I to think, those prophecies against Babylon for cruelty to the Jews, fulfilled, by what fell out, when no man remembered the Jews or those prophecies. But these descriptions of the Apocalypse, borrowed many times word for word out of the prophecies of the Old Testament, are nothing but lofty pathetical figures, hyperbolically expressing the condition of heathen Rome, which, in respect of the empire quite taken from the pagans, was left as desolate as Babylon under Cyrus. This is then the whole compass of the Apocalypse,

Christ goeth forth at the preaching of the Gospel, after the first seal, to subdue the empire to Christianity. The next three seals foretell that God would punish them with the sword, famine, and pestilence, for neglecting it. Which they, by the instinct of Satan, imputing to the neglect of their idols, as all histories shew, fall to persecute the Christians, till the martyrs' blood calling for vengeance in the fifth seal, under the sixth, the change under Constantine comes, the seventh bringing forth those plagues which the seven trumpets and seven vials, out of the last of them, import. Till the seat of the empire being removed, and Rome sacked once and again, Christ appears again to punish the persecutors and false prophets that set them upon it, to do the Christians justice, and give them the empire; and this is that appearance which St. Paul speaks of, to whom God, revealing the fortune of his Church by degrees, shews the end of the persecution—not the continuance of Christianity, a thousand years after and more, which St. John hereby learns. And this interpretation so much more reasonable, as it is more unreasonable, that all this should be sent to the seven Churches, telling them, that they should be happy in reading, understanding, and keeping it, which, for the most part, concerned no soul in them, than that he should send them this encouragement, to stick to their Christianity, in the midst of those persecutions which here he foretells.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

P. 9.—" Ipse, inquit, Moses dicit ex persona Dei: ' Ego ad æmulationem vos adducam in non gentem;' de Christianis sine dubio dicens.—Christiani vero non est una gens, sed ex omnibus gentibus unus populus: et ideo Moses pro summo honore ' non gentem eam nominavit.' "—Origen. Com. in Epist. ad Romanos, viii. § 5.

" Cum ergo videris Judæos odio habentes Christianum et insidiantes ei, intellige quia completur prophetia illa quæ dicit: ' Et ego concitabo eos in non gentem.' Non enim sumus non gens qui pauci ex ista civitate credimus, et alii ex alia, et nusquam gens integra ab initio credulitatis videtur assumpta."—1 Hom. in Psalm xxxvi.

P. 13.—" *Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα μανθανέτω ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει ὁ προσιών· προσκυνείτω δὲ ὁ χειροθετῶν ἀυτὸν τὸν θεόν.*"—Apost. Constit. vii. 40.

P. 15.—The whole of St. Cyprian's epistle to Antonianus is of great importance, as showing with what reluctance the early Church admitted great offenders to penance. It is clear from the manner in which this great writer dwells upon this subject, that the admitting of great sinners to penance was, in his view, a relaxing of the discipline of the Church, a concession to which he would not have acceded, had not the danger of retaining the ancient severity been great. Speaking of the meeting of the bishops of Africa, to determine what steps should be taken as to admitting the lapsed to communion, he says: " In unum convenimus et Scripturis divinis ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus, ut nec in totum spes communicationis et pacis lapsis denegaretur ne plus desperatione deficerent,

et eo quod sibi Ecclesia clauderetur, secuti sæculum gentiliter viverent, nec tamen rursus censura evangelica solveretur, ut ad communicationem temere prosilirent, sed traheretur diu pœnitentia, et rogaretur dolenter paterna clementia, et examinarentur causæ," &c.

The passage to which Thorndike more expressly refers, is the following: "Apud antecessores nostros quidam de episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem mœchis non putaverunt, et in totum pœnitentiæ locum contra adulteria clauserunt. Non tamen a coepiscoporum suorum collegio recesserunt."

P. 16.—"Quoniam comperimus per quasdam Hispaniarum Ecclesias non secundum canonem sed fœdissime pro suis peccatis homines agere pœnitentiam, ut quotiescumque peccare voluerint toties a presbytero, se reconciliari expostulent; ideo pro coercenda tam execrabili præsumptione id a sancto concilio jubetur ut secundum formam canonicam antiquorum detur pœnitentia, hoc est ut prius eum, quem sui pœnitet facti, a communione suspensum faciat inter reliquos pœnitentes ad manus impositionem crebro recurrere; expleto autem satisfactionis tempore, sicuti sacerdotalis contemplatio probaverit eum communioni restituat: hi vero qui ad priora vitia vel infra pœnitentiæ tempus vel post reconciliationem relabuntur secundum priorum canonum severitatem damnentur."—Concil. Tolet. iii. can. 11. Held in 589.

Ib.—"Item flamines qui non immolaverint sed manus tantum dederint; eo quod se a funestis abstinuerunt sacrificiis, placuit in fine eis præstari communionem; acta tamen legitima pœnitentia. Item ipsi si post pœnitentiam fuerint mœchati, placuit, ulterius his non esse dandam communionem, ne lusisse de Dominica communione videantur."—Concil. Eliberitan. can. 3. Held in 313.

"Si quis forte fidelis post lapsum mœchiæ, post tempora constituta, accepta pœnitentia denuo fuerit fornicatus, placuit, nec in fine habere eum communionem."—Ib. can. 7.

"Merito reprehenduntur qui sæpius agendam pœnitentiam putant; quia luxuriantur in Christo. Nam si vere agerent pœnitentiam iterandum postea non putarent; quia sicut unum baptisma, ita una pœnitentia, quæ tamen publice agitur; nam

quotidiani nos debet pœnitentia peccati: sed hæc delictorum leviorum illa graviorum."—Ambrosius de Pœnitent. ii. x. § 95.

"Melius est ergo tunc quiescere cum exercere non queas opera pœnitentiæ, ne in ipsa pœnitentia fiat quod postea indigeat pœnitentiæ. Quæ si semel fuerit usurpata nec jure celebrata, nec prioris fructum obtinet et auferet usum posterioris."—Ib. cap. xi. § 104.

"De pœnitentibus vero, qui sive ex gravioribus commissis, sive ex levioribus pœnitentiam gerunt, si nulla interveniat ægritudo, quinta feria ante pascha eis remittendum, Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudo demonstrat. Ceterum de pondere æstimando delictorum, sacerdotis est judicare, ut attendat ad confessionem pœnitentis, et ad fletus atque lacrymas corrigentis: ac tum jubere dimitti, cum viderit congruam satisfactionem. Sane si quis in ægritudinem inciderit, atque usque ad desperationem devenerit; ei est ante tempus paschæ relaxandum, ne de sæculo absque communione discedat."—Innocentii Epist. i. § 7.

Such is the reference to penance in this epistle; but I have little doubt that Thorndike referred to the following passage, from the third epistle of Innocent, especially as, according to Hardouin, some MSS. commence with the third, and not with the first, epistle, as generally printed in the Collection of Councils:—

"Et hoc quæsitum est quid de his observari oporteat, qui post baptismum omni tempore incontinentiæ voluptatibus dediti, in extremo fine vitæ suæ pœnitentiam simul et reconciliationem communionis exposcunt. De his observatio prior durior, posterior interveniente misericordia inclinatior est. Nam consuetudo prior tenuit ut concederetur eis pœnitentia, sed communio negaretur. Nam cum illis temporibus crebræ persecutiones essent, ne communionis concessa facilitas homines de reconciliatione securos non revocaret a lapsu, negata merito communio est, concessa pœnitentia, ne totum penitus negaretur: et duriorem remissionem fecit temporis ratio. Sed postea quam Dominus noster pacem ecclesiis suis reddidit, jam terrore depulso communionem dari abeuntibus placuit, et propter Domini misericordiam quasi viaticum profecturis: et ne Novatiani hæretici negantis veniam, asperitatem et

duritiam sequi videamur, tribuitur ergo cum pœnitentia extrema communio: ut homines hujusmodi, vel in supremis suis pœnitentes, miserante Salvatore nostro, a perpetuo exitio vindicentur.

P. 16.—"Ut enim constitueretur in ecclesia ne quisquam post alicujus criminis pœnitentiam clericatum accipiat vel ad clericatum redeat, vel in clericatu maneat, non desperatione indulgentiæ, sed vigore factum est disciplinæ: alioquin contra claves datas ecclesiæ disputabitur, de quibus dictum est *Quæ solveritis in terra, soluta erunt et in cælo.* Sed ne forsitan etiam detectis criminibus, spe honoris ecclesiastici animus intumescens superbe ageret pœnitentiam, severissime placuit, ut post actam de crimini damnabili pœnitentiam, nemo sit clericus, ut desperatione temporalis altitudinis medicina major et verior esset humilitatis. Nam et sanctus David de criminibus mortiferis pœnitentiam egit et tamen in honore suo perstitit. Et beatum Petrum quando amarissimas lacrymas fudit, utique Dominum negasse pœnituit et tamen Apostolus mansit. Sed non ideo supervacua putanda est posteriorum diligentia, qui ubi saluti nihil detrahebatur, humilitati aliquid addiderunt, quo salus tutius muniretur, experti credo aliquorum fictas pœnitentias per affectatas honorum potentias."—St. Augustini, Epist. l=clxxxv. § 45.

"Quamvis ergo caute salubriterque provisum sit ut locus illius humillimæ pœnitentiæ semel in ecclesia concedatur, ne medicina vilis minus utilis esset ægrotis, quæ tanto magis salubris est, quanto minus contemptibilis fuerit: quis tamen audeat dicere Deo: quare huic homini qui post primam pœnitentiam rursus se laqueis iniquitatis obstringit, adhuc iterum parcis."—Ib. Epist. liv=cliii. § 7.

P. 17.—Origen in Matt. xviii. 18. The reference, I think, should rather be to Matt. xviii. 15, for in his commentary on this verse, Origen applies the words of St. John, "sin unto death," to murder, witchcraft, &c. (*φόνος ἢ φαρμακία ἢ παιδοφθορία ἢ τι τῶν τηλικούτων*) and explains his meaning by using, as an equivalent expression, "deadly sins."—Tom. xiii. § 30.

But as Thorndike has retained the same reference in his larger work, "De Jure finiendi Controversias," p. 194, where he has

again discussed this subject, I have not ventured to make any alteration in the reference.

P. 17.—*περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξοδεύοντων ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν· ὥστε εἴ τις ἐξοδεύοι τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδιόν μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωσθεὶς καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχὼν πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐξετασθῇ μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνης ἔστω.*—Nicene Council, can. xiii. or xii. according to others.

P. 23.—After quoting several passages from the twentieth chapter of Leviticus, in which death is denounced as the punishment inflicted by the law for various crimes, Origen proceeds: "Secundum legem adulter et adultera morte moriebantur, nec poterant dicere, pœnitentiam petimus, et veniam deprecamur. Non erat lachrymis locus, nec emendationi ulla concedebatur facultas, sed omnimode puniri necesse erat qui incurrisset in legem. Nunc vero non infertur pœna corpori, nec purgatio peccati per corporale supplicium constat, sed per pœnitentiam."—Origen in Levit. Hom. xi.

P. 29.—"Qui enim semel bisque corruptus, audito errore suo, non vult corrigi, errare existimat corrigentem; et e contrario se ad pugnas et jurgia verborum parans eum vult lucrifacere a quo docetur. Propterea vero a semetipso dicitur esse damnatus quia fornicator, adultu, homicida et cetera vitia per sacerdotes de ecclesia propelluntur. Hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam ferunt, suo arbitrio de ecclesia recedentes; quæ recessio propriæ conscientiæ videtur esse damnatio."—S. Hieronym. in Tit. iii. 11.

P. 31.—The passage in Epiphanius, to which our author refers, is not found, as far as I can discover, in Hær. xxx. but in Hær. xxix. § 9.—*οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τούτους κέκτηνται μῖσος ἀλλὰ ἀνιστάμενοι ἑσωθεν[εὐθεν] καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῦς καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι, φάσκοντες ὅτι ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους.*

P. 32.—Epiphanius, xxx. § 11.—*ἀπάγουσι μὲν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ μαστίζουσι τοῦτον.*

P. 42.—Epiphanius, xxi. § 1.—*ἀπὸ Γιτθῶν—τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ, νυνὶ κώμης ὑπαρχούσης.*

P. 42.—Josephus, xxi. 7.

P. 47.—Epiphanius, adv. Hær. xxx. § 4 and 11.

P. 51.—Clemens, in his epistle to the Corinthians, § 42: *κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.*

P. 55.—"Justin Martyr says expressly" (Apol. II.) query. Vid. Apolog. I. p. 97, ed. Thirlby.

P. 75.—*ἀζανῖται* in Epiphanius's Greek. (Hær. xxx. § 11.)

P. 79.—The saying of Ignatius; see the Epistle to the Magnesians, § 3, 7. Epistle to the Trallians, § 3. Epistle to the Smyrnians, § 8 and 9.

P. 80.—Philo; Numbers xv. 33; p. 685.

P. 98.—Ignatius thus prosecuteth the words: *μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· ἐὰν μή τις ᾖ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἑνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἥ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας.*

P. 120.—Antioch. can. xiii. *μηδένα ἐπίσκοπον τολμᾶν ἀφ' ἑτέρας ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβαίνειν, καὶ χειροτονεῖν τινας εἰς προαγωγὴν λειτουργίας, μηδὲ εἰ συνεπάγοιτο ἑαυτῷ ἑτέρους.——εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς καλοῦντος ἀπέλθοι ἀτάκτως ἐπὶ χειροθεσίᾳ τινων καὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων μὴ προσηκόντων αὐτῷ, ἄκυρα μὲν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα τυγχάνειν.*

Apost. Canons xxxiv. (xxxvi.) *ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονιάν ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας· εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθείη τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας ἢ τὰς χώρας γνώμην, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οὓς ἐχειροτόνησεν.*

P. 248.—Philo de Legatione ad Caium. The whole account of this embassy well deserves reading, as showing the feeling of the Jews in the time of this Emperor, especially their unabated zeal, and extreme admiration of their Temple. See especially pp. 1008, 1019, 1022, 1024, seq. Ed. Paris, 1640.

P. 284.—S. Jerome. In vita Malchi Monachi, p. 91, ed. Benedict. "Postquam ad Christianos principes venerit [Ecclesia] potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit."

P. 322.—Philo. I cannot discover in the treatise of Philo to

which Thorndike refers, the expression, "secondary holiness." In the treatise Adv. Flaccum, he speaks of these προευχαὶ as places of holiness, p. 972. See also the note by Mongey on this word in his edition of Philo, ii. 168.

P. 336.—Council of Neocesarea, Can. xiii. al. xiv. οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα.

P. 347.—Council of Neocesarea, Can. xiv. διάκονοι ἑπτὰ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα κἂν πάνυ μεγάλη εἴη ἡ πόλις· πεισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τῶν πράξεων.

Concil. Eliber. Can. xviii. "Episcopi, presbyteri, et diacones, si in ministerio positi, detecti fuerint quod sint mœchati, placuit propter scandalum et propter profanum crimen nec in finem eos communionem accipere debere."

P. 349.—Laodicea, Can. lvi. rather lvii. ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους ἢ ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς· τοὺς μέντοι ἤδη προκατασταθέντας μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πράττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

P. 395.—Apostolical Canons, lxxxi. lxxxiii., rather lxxx. and lxxxii. εἴπομεν ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον καθιέναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις ἀλλὰ προσευκαιρεῖν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρείαις.——ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεπβύτερος ἢ διάκονος στρατείᾳ σχολάζων καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατεχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.

TABLE OF TEXTS

IN

THORNDIKE'S RIGHT OF THE CHURCH.

	PAGE
Gen. xxviii, 20	170
Exod. iv, 5	228
Exod. xii, 3, 21	129
Exod. xiii, 9	158
Exod. xviii, 24, 25	46
Exod. xix, 6	98
Exod. xxi, 6	174
Exod. xxii, 8, 9	174
Exod. xxii, 20	205
Exod. xxii, 29	171
Exod. xxiii, 19	171
Exod. xxiii, 19	171
Exod. xxiv, 13	61
Exod. xxxiv, 20	171
Exod. xxxviii, 8	102
Exod. xxxviii, 8	170
Levit. iv, 13, 14	129
Levit. iv, 12, 20	92
Levit. vi. 30	92
Levit. x, 6	144
Levit. xvi, 21	92
Levit. xvii, 4	145
Levit. xix, 15	33
Levit. xix, 30	172
Levit. xix, 32	174
Levit. xxi, 1, 10-12	144
Levit. xxvii, 28	177
Levit. xxvii, 30	170
Num. ii	77
Num. x, 9	143
Num. xi, 16	46
Num. xv, 22, 24	129
Num. xv, 33	80
Num. xviii, 12	171
Num. xxxv, 16	249
Num. xxxv. 25, 26	129
Deut. iv, 2	146
Deut. v, 39	23
Deut. vi, 8	158
Deut. xi, 18	158
Deut. xii, 32	146
Deut. xiii, 2. 13, 14	184
Deut. xiii, 5, 6, 12	205
Deut. xiii, 6-11	249
Deut. xiv. 22, 28	171
Deut. xvi, 18	46
Deut. xvi, 18	50
Deut. xvi, 18	183
Deut. xvii, 3	205
Deut. xvii, 8-12	85
Deut. xvii, 8 12	85
Deut. xvii, 8	87
Deut. xvii, 8-12	145
Deut. xvii, 8	183
Deut. xvii, 8	207
Deut. xvii, 12	24
Deut. xvii, 12	26
Deut. xvii, 12	46
Deut. xvii, 14	8
Deut. xvii, 18	48
Deut. xviii, 18	85
Deut. xviii, 18, 19	145
Deut. xxvi, 1	171
Deut. xxix, 1	185
Deut. xxxiii, 2	79
Deut. xxxiii, 5	185
Josh. xx, 4, 6	129
Judges v, 10	183
Judges x, 4	183
Judges xii, 14	183
Ruth iv, 11	195
1 Sam. ii, 22	103
1 Sam. ii, 22	170
1 Sam. vii, 16	183

1 Kings ii, 26 - - 215

2 Kings v, 11 - - 158

1 Chron. xiii, 2 - - 184
1 Chron. xxiii, 6 - - 187
1 Chron. xxiv, 3, 6, 7 - 187
1 Chron. xxv, 1 - - 186
1 Chron. xxviii, 1 - 184

2 Chron. xv, 12, 14 - 185
2 Chron. xvii, 8, 9 - 183
2 Chron. xviii, 14 - 150
2 Chron. xix, 5, 8 - 183
2 Chron. xxix, 10 - 185
2 Chron. xxx, 2 - - 187
2 Chron. xxxiv, 31 - 185

Ezra vii, 26 - - 24
Ezra x, 8 - - - 24

Neh. v, 12 - - - 185
Neh. v, 14, 15 - - 185
Neh. x, 29 - - - 185

Psalm lxxiii, 17 - - 173
Psalm lxxiv, 3, 7, 8 - 173
Psalm lxxxii, 1, 6 - - 174
Psalm lxxxiv, 10 - - 173
Psalm lxxxix, 7 - - 79
Psalm cxlix, 1 - - 79

Isaiah vi, 1 - - 77
Isaiah xxii, 22 - - 26

Jer. ii, 3 - - - 177
Jer. xxvi. 10, 11 - - 187

Ezek. i, 1 - - - 77
Ezek. iv, 6 - - - 77
Ezek. xlv, 13 - - 171

Dan. vii, 9 - - - 79

Joel ii, 15-17 - - 143

Jonas iii. 5, 6 - - 158

Zac. vii, 3 - - - 143
Zac. viii, 19 - - 143
Zac. xii, 12-14 - - 144

Esd. vii, 11 - - 185
Esd. viii, 20 - - 187
Esd. x, 1 - - - 185

Judith viii, 5 - - 102

1 Mac. ii, 24, 26, 27 - 247

Matt. iii, 11 - - 61
Matt. iv, 23 - - 83
Matt. v, 19 - - - 207
Matt. vi, 2, 5 - - 176
Matt. ix, 35 - - 83
Matt. x, 1, 4 - - 62
Matt. x, 17 - - - 32
Matt. xi, 1 - - - 83
Matt. xiii, 55 - - 72
Matt. xv, 5 - - - 177
Matt. xvi, 19 - - 26
Matt. xvi, 19 - - 26
Matt. xvi, 19 - - 33
Matt. xvii, 56 - - 72
Matt. xvii, 61 - - 72
Matt. xviii, 17 - - 128
Matt. xviii, 18 - - 17
Matt. xviii, 18 - - 25
Matt. xviii, 18 - - 26
Matt. xviii, 18-20 - 130
Matt. xviii, 20 - - 130
Matt. xix, 28 - - 79
Matt. xx, 25 - - 217
Matt. xxiii, 2 - - 80
Matt. xxiii, 2 - - 146
Matt. xxiii, 17, 19, 20 - 177
Matt. xxiii, 34 - - 32
Matt. xxv, 44 - - 168
Matt. xxvi, 11 - - 178
Matt. xxviii, 19, 20 - 82

Mark i, 7 - - - 61
Mark iii, 14 - - 62
Mark x, 42, 43 - - 217
Mark xiii, 9 - - 32
Mark xv, 40 - - 72
Mark xvi, 15 - - 82

Luke ii, 36 - - - 102
Luke ii, 36, 37 - - 170

Luke iv, 20 - - - 85
Luke iv, 16, 20 - - 157
Luke viii, 3 - - - 168
Luke ix, 55, 56 - - 249
Luke xi, 43 - - - 80
Luke xiii, 33 - - - 86
Luke xiv, 1 - - - 75
Luke xviii, 12 - - 143
Luke xxii, 25, 26 - - 217
Luke xxii, 27 - - 62
Luke xxii, 30 - - 79

John ix, 35 - - - 31
John x, 36 - - - 174
John xix, 25 - - - 172
John xx, 22 - - - 33

Acts i, 9 - - - 60
Acts i, 15 - - - 160
Acts i, 17 - - - 82
Acts i, 23 - - - 128
Acts i, 23 - - - 130
Acts ii, 41 - - - 14
Acts ii, 42, 46 - - 83
Acts ii, 42, 46 - - 126
Acts ii, 42, 46 - - 165
Acts ii, 42, 46 - - 179
Acts v, 3 - - - 179
Acts v, 42 - - - 82
Acts vi, 1, 2 - - - 165
Acts vi, 2 - - - 160
Acts vi, 3, 6 - - - 130
Acts vi, 4 - - - 82
Acts vi, 4 - - - 168
Acts vi, 9 - - - 63
Acts viii, 5 - - 42
Acts viii, 5, 40 - - 42
Acts viii, 5, 12 - - 63
Acts ix, 31 - - - 42
Acts x, 48 - - - 88
Acts xi, 2 - - - 28
Acts xi, 9 - - - 65
Acts xi, 20, 24, 25, 26 - 43
Acts xi, 26 - - - 11
Acts xi, 30 - - - 166
Acts xi, 30 - - - 169
Acts xii, 25 - - - 166
Acts xiii, xiv - - 123
Acts xiii, 1 - - - 43
Acts xiii, 1 - - - 43
Acts xiii, 1 - - - 45
Acts xiii, 1 - - - 123
Acts xiii, 2 - - - 150
Acts xiii, 5 - - - 62
Acts xiii, 15 - - - 75
Acts xiii, 16 - - - 85
Acts xiv, 23 - - - 39
Acts xiv, 23 - - - 67
Acts xv, 1 - - - 43
Acts xv, 1 - - - 44
Acts xv, 1 - - - 149
Acts xv, 1 - - - 160
Acts xv, 4, 12, 23 - - 65
Acts xv, 4, 25 - - 130
Acts xv, 6 - - - 161
Acts xv, 12, 13, 22 - - 162
Acts xv, 23 - - - 66
Acts xv, 28 - - - 150
Acts xv, 35 - - - 83
Acts xv, 41 - - - 42
Acts xvi, 1 - - - 62
Acts xvi, 4 - - - 39
Acts xvi, 4 - - - 45
Acts xvi, 4 - - - 123
Acts xviii, 8, 17 - - 75
Acts xix, 22 - - - 62
Acts xx, 7 - - - 165
Acts xx, 7 - - - 165
Acts xx, 24 - - - 83
Acts xx, 28 - - - 150
Acts xxi, 8 - - - 63
Acts xxi, 18 - - - 106
Acts xxi, 18 - - - 160
Acts xxi, 19 - - - 82
Acts xxii, 19 - - - 32
Acts xxvi, 11 - - - 32

Rom. iii, 20 - - - 249
Rom. iv, 15 - - - 249
Rom. vi, 4, 5 - - 157
Rom. vii, 7 - - 249
Rom. xii, 4, 7, 8 - - 169
Rom. xiv, 2, 5 - - 141
Rom. xiv, 13, 15, 20 - 141
Rom. xiv, 17 - - 142
Rom. xv, 19 - - - 63
Rom. xv, 26 - - 166
Rom. xvi, 7 - - - 61

1 Cor. i. 17 - - - 11

1 Cor. iii, 5 - - - 82
1 Cor. iv, 21 - - - 67
1 Cor. v, 2 - - - 22
1 Cor. v, 3 - - - 66
1 Cor. v. 3, 4 - - 66
1 Cor. v, 4 - - - 130
1 Cor. v, 5 - - - 29
1 Cor. v, 11 - - - 28
1 Cor. v, 12 - - - 128
1 Cor. vi, 1, 2 - - 33
1 Cor. vi, 2 - - - 79
1 Cor. vii, 20, 24 - - 181
1 Cor. vii, 24 - - - 36
1 Cor. viii, 1 - - - 45
1 Cor. viii, 7 - - - 45
1 Cor. viii, 7 - - - 140
1 Cor. viii, 10 - - 140
1 Cor. x, 7, 14 - - 140
1 Cor. x, 18 - - - 91
1 Cor. x, 27 - - - 140
1 Cor. xi, 2 - - - 144
1 Cor. xi, 16 - - - 151
1 Cor. xi, 17 - - - 68
1 Cor. xi, 20 - - - 126
1 Cor. xi, 20 - - - 165
1 Cor. xi, 30 - - - 67
1 Cor. xii, 28 - - 73
1 Cor. xii, 28 - - 84
1 Cor. xiv - - - 103
1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25, 30 - 150
1 Cor. xiv, 25, 30 - - 80
1 Cor. xiv, 32, 33 - - 44
1 Cor. xvi, 1 - - - 42
1 Cor. xvi, 1 - - - 166

2 Cor. ii, 10 - - - 130
2 Cor. iii, vi, 4 - - 82
2 Cor. iii, 8 - - - 168
2 Cor. v, 18, 19 - - 168
2 Cor. viii, ix - - 166
2 Cor. viii, 1 - - - 68
2 Cor. viii, 8, 19 - - 130
2 Cor. viii, 19, 20, 23 - 59
2 Cor. viii, 23 - - 42
2 Cor. x, 1, 8 - - 67
2 Cor. x, 16 - - - 63
2 Cor. xi, 13 - - - 60
2 Cor. xi, 23 - - - 82
2 Cor. xii, 20, 21 - - 66
2 Cor. xii, 20, 21 - - 130
2 Cor. xii, 21 - - - 22

Gal. i, 1 - - - 43
Gal. ii, 8, 9 - - - 43
Gal. ii, 9 - - - 71
Gal. ii, 10 - - - 161

Eph. iii, 7 - - - 82
Eph. iv, 2 - - - 113
Eph. iv, 11 - - - 84
Eph. iv, 11 - - - 84
Eph. iv, 11 - - - 107
Eph. iv, 11 - - - 167
Eph. iv, 12 - - - 73
Eph. vi, 21 - - - 82

Phil. i, 1 - - - 126
Phil. ii, 25, 30 - - 59
Phil. ii, 25, 30 - - 68
Phil. ii, 25, 30 - - 74
Phil. iv, 15 - - - 68

Col. i, 7 - - - 74
Col. i, 7 - - - 82
Col. i, 23, 25 - - - 82
Col. ii, 11, 12 - - 157
Col. iii, 9, 10 - - 157
Col. iv, 7 - - - 82
Col. iv, 17 - - - 65

1 Thess. ii, 14 - - 42
1 Thess. iii, 2 - - 82
1 Thess. v, 12 - - 100
1 Thess. v, 12, 13 - - 128
1 Thess. v, 12, 13 - - 175
2 Thess. ii, 7 - - - 235

1 Tim. i, 20 - - - 29
1 Tim. iii, 2 - - - 100
1 Tim. iii, 8 - - - 126
1 Tim. iii, 10 - - - 127
1 Tim. iii, 13 - - 127
1 Tim. iv, 14 - - - 150
1 Tim. v, 5, 9, 16 - - 102
1 Tim. v, 5, 10 - - 170
1 Tim. v, 17 - - - 100
1 Tim. v, 17 - - - 101
1 Tim. v, 19, 20 - - 106
1 Tim. v, 22 - - - 19
1 Tim. v, 22 - - - 68

1 Tim. v. 22 . . 117

2 Tim. i, 18 . . 168
2 Tim. ii, 4 . . 218
2 Tim. iv, 5 . . 62
2 Tim. iv, 5 . . 73
2 Tim. iv, 10 . . 63
2 Tim iv. 11 . . 62

Titus i, 5 . . 39
Titus i. 5, 7 . . 100
Titus iii, 11 . . 29
Titus iii, 12 . . 63

Heb. ii, 35, 36 . . 247
Heb. iii, 1 . . 61
Heb. vi, 2 . . 12
Heb. vi, 6 . . 18
Heb. vi, 10 . . 168
Heb. ix, 12 . . 91
Heb. x, 25 . . 4
Heb. x, 26 . . 19
Heb. xii, 17 . . 18
Heb. xiii, 7, 17 . . 100
Heb. xiii, 7, 17 . . 128
Heb. xiii, 8-14 . . 167
Heb. xiii, 10 . . 91
Heb. xiii, 17 . . 175

James ii, 1 . . 32
James v, 14 . . 21
James v, 14, 15 . . 131
James v, 16 . . 17

1 Peter ii, 5 . . 98
1 Peter, iii, 21 . . 12
1 Peter, iv, 10 . . 168
1 Peter, iv, 10 . . 169

1 Peter, v, 1 . . 83
1 Peter, v, 3 . . 102
1 Peter, v, 3 . . 170

1 John, v, 16 . . 16
1 John, v, 16 . . 130
2 John, i . . 83
3 John, i . . 83

Jude, 1 . . 73
Jude, 12 . . 165

Apoc. i, 6 . . 98
Apoc. i, 11 . . 41
Apoc. i. 11 . . 43
Apoc. i, 20 . . 76
Apoc. ii, 2 . . 60
Apoc. ii, 7, 11, 17, 29 . 43
Apoc. iii, 6, 13, 22 . 43
Apoc. iii, 7 . . 26
Apoc. iv and v . . 77
Apoc. iv, 10 . . 94
Apoc. v, 6 . . 78
Apoc. v, 8 . . 78
Apoc. v, 8 . . 79
Apoc. vi, 9 . . 78
Apoc. vi, 9, 10, 11 . 79
Apoc. vii, 9 . . 78
Apoc. vii, 12, 14 . 79
Apoc. vii, 17 . . 78
Apoc. viii, 3 . . 78
Apoc. viii, 3, 4, 5 . 79
Apoc. viii, 3, 5 . . 94
Apoc. xi, 2 . . 94
Apoc. xiv, 18 . . 94
Apoc. xvi, 7 . . 94
Apoc. xx, 4 . . 79

REVIEW OF THORNDIKE'S RIGHT OF THE CHURCH.

Gen. vi, 2 - - 400

Exod. xii, 38 - - 288
Exod. xix, 6 - - 382
Exod. xix, 16, 19, 20 - 330
Exod. xxii, 28 - - 367

Levit. iv, 22 - - 367

Num. viii, 10 - - 383
Num. xi, 4 - - 288
Num. xi, 16 - - 351
Num. xxvii, 21 - - 383

Deut. i, 15, 16 - - 351
Deut. xvi, 18 - - 331
Deut. xvi, 18 - - 351
Deut. xvii, 8, 12 - 301
Deut. xvii, 8 - - 331
Deut. xviii. 18 - - 318
Deut. xxi, 2, 3 - - 331
Deut. xxxiii, 8 - - 383

Judges ii, 10 - - 384
Judges ii, 17 - - 384
Judges xvii, 6 - - 384
Judges xviii, 1 - - 384
Judges xix, 1 - - 384
Judges xxi, 25 - - 384

1 Kings, xxi, 19 - - 363
2 Kings, iv, 12 - - 391
2 Kings, vi, 32 - - 363

Neh. v, 14, 15 - - 321

Psalm ii, 10-12 - - 286
Psalm xviii, 44, 45 - 287
Psalm xl, 6 - - 366
Psalm l, 8 - - 366
Psalm lxxii, 10, 11 - 286

Isaiah l, 11 - - 366
Isaiah lxi, 6 - - 383

Jer. vii, 21 - - 366
Jer. xxix, 7 - - 252

Ezek. vii, 26 - - 321
Ezek. vii, 27 - - 367
Ezek. xii, 10 - - 367
Ezek. xix, 1 - - 367
Ezek. xxxvii, 3 - - 415

Dan. iii, 2 - - 321
Dan. vii, 9 - - 415

Esd. xlix, 23 - - 286
Esd. lx, 13 - - 286

Matt. xxiii, 2 - - 365
Matt. xxiv, 3 - - 408
Matt. xxviii, 19, 20 - 263
Matt. xxviii, 19 - - 292
Matt. xviii, 18 - - 300
Matt. xxviii, 19 - - 334

John xv, 1 - - 287

Acts ii, 42, 46 - - 264
Acts v, 42 - - 264
Acts vi, 2, 4 - - 264
Acts xi, 19, 20 - - 307
Acts xi, 20 - - 334
Acts xi, 22 - - 307
Acts xi, 22 - - 380
Acts xi, 26 - - 264
Acts xiii, 1 - - 380
Acts xiii, 2 - - 380
Acts xiii, 2 - - 380
Acts xiii, 42 - - 395
Acts xiv, 4, 14 - - 380
Acts xviii, 2 - - 413
Acts xix, 9 - - 414
Acts xix, 37 - - 385
Acts xx, 7 - - 265
Acts xxiii, 5 - - 367

Rom. vi, 3, 4, 5 - - 399
Rom. x, 14 - - 264
Rom. xii, 6, 7 - - 264
Rom. xvi, 2 - - 327

1 Cor. iv, 21 - - 289
1 Cor. vi, 4 - - 355
1 Cor. vii, 22 - - 359
1 Cor. viii, 5 - - 409
1 Cor. ix, 16 - - 264
1 Cor. x, 4 - - 400
1 Cor. xi - - 398
1 Cor. xi - - 399
1 Cor. xi, 3 - - 262
1 Cor. xi, 4, 7 - - 400
1 Cor. xi, 10 - - 400
1 Cor. xii, 3 - - 381
1 Cor. xii, 9 - - 381
1 Cor. xii, 9 - - 381
1 Cor. xii, 25 - - 352
1 Cor. xiv - - 264
1 Cor. xiv - - 318
1 Cor. xiv, 16 - - 265

2 Cor. x, 6 - - 289

Gal. i, 1 - - - 380
Gal. ii, 9 - - - 380

Eph. iv, 4-16 - - - 282
Eph. iv, 4 - - - 324

Colos. i, 23-25 - - 346
Colos. ii, 14 - - - 352
Colos. iv, 16 - - - 344

1 Thess. v, 12 - - 254
2 Thess. ii - - - 408
2 Thess. ii, 6, 7 - - 413
2 Thess. ii, 8, 9 - - 410

1 Tim. ii, 2-4 - - - 285
1 Tim. iii, 8 - - - 346
1 Tim. v, 17 - - - 264
1 Tim. v, 17 - - - 353

2 Tim. iv, 2, 5 - - 264

Titus iii, 10 - - - 343

Heb. xiii, 13 - - - 414
Heb. xiii, 17 - - - 254

1 John, iv, 1 - - - 381

Apoc. i, 3 - - - 404
Apoc. i, 6 - - - 382
Apoc. i, 11 - - - 404
Apoc. ii and iii - - 342
Apoc. v - - - 406
Apoc. v, 8 - - - 345
Apoc. v, 9, 10, 11 - 406

Apoc. v, 10 - - - 382
Apoc. vi, 1, 2 - - - 404
Apoc. vi, 9-11 - - 345
Apoc. vi, 9 - - - 404
Apoc. vi, 9 - - - 405
Apoc. vi, 9 - - - 407
Apoc. vi, 10 - - - 250
Apoc. vi, 10 - - - 344
Apoc. vi, 11 - - - 405
Apoc. vii, 1 - - - 405
Apoc. vii, 4 - - - 408
Apoc. vii, 9 - - - 345
Apoc. vii, 9, 14 - - 405
Apoc. viii, 2 - - - 404
Apoc. viii, 2 - - - 408
Apoc. viii, 3 - - - 404
Apoc. viii, 3 - - - 405
Apoc. viii, 5 - - - 405
Apoc. viii, 13 - - 407
Apoc. ix, 12 - - - 407
Apoc. x, 5 - - - 414
Apoc. xi, 14 - - - 407
Apoc. xi, 14 - - - 407
Apoc. xi, 18 - - - 415
Apoc. xii, 5, 7 - - 407
Apoc. xii, 6, 9 - - 407
Apoc. xiv, 1 - - - 408
Apoc. xiv, 1, 3 - - 405
Apoc. xv, 1 - - - 407
Apoc. xv, 1, 7 - - 407
Apoc. xvii, 15 - - 287
Apoc. xvii, xviii - - 417
Apoc. xix, 11 - - 404
Apoc. xx, 2 - - - 415
Apoc. xx, 4 - - - 415
Apoc. xx, 6 - - - 415

INDEX.

A PAGE

Abyssinia, but one cathedral church in - - - - 53
Agapæ of apostolic period - - 165
Alexandrian nominations 350, 117
Ancyra, Council of, Can. 13. 349, 114
Angels of the Seven Churches 343, 76
Antichrist - - - - 402
Apocalyptic prophecies, the author's notion of - - - 286
Apostates not admitted to penance - - - - 16, 17
Apostles - - - - - 58
Apostles and prophets, distinction of - - - - 318
Apostolic authority supreme 66, 44
Ἀρχισυνάνωγοι, Ἀζανῖται, חזנים - - - - 75
Assemblies, power of holding, in the Church by divine right 3, 280
Assemblies required by Christian profession - - - - 4
—— this requisite even in spite of the civil law - - - 4, 5
Athanasius (S.) - 388, 305, 190
Authority of Church governors to be obeyed wherever there is a Church - - - - 196
Αἰχμαλωτάρχαι, (הגלות ראשי) - - - - 321

B

Baptism, administration of, distinguished from right of granting 11
Baptism, lay - - - - - 88
Baptism unnecessary where impossible - - - - 293
Barnabas (S.) commission of - 334

PAGE

Binding and loosing, power of - 379
Bishop, chief power resides in - 70
Bishops, no earthly power can dispense with - - - 125
Bishops had consistories or chapters of presbyters - - - 106
Bishops and presbyters not the same - - - - 338, 107
Bishops only, can excommunicate - - - - - 112
Bishops by right sit in Church synods - - - - 123
Bishops to disobey a sovereign commanding that which would destroy the unity of the Church 190

C

Cana, our Lord's presence at the marriage at - - - - 384
Catechism when dispensed with 14
Cathedral churches where they ought to be - - - - 50
Chorepiscopi - - - 120, 315
Χειροτονία - - - - 67
Christianity, profession of, to bear the cross - - 2, 269
Christianity not to be propagated by force - - 204, 246
Christianity does not take life in its own defence and in its own right, but only the civil power 252
Christianity not a temporal advantage - - - - 279
Christianity to be maintained at all hazards - - - - 292
Christian, not every, possessed of ecclesiastical power in virtue of his Christianity - - 64

Christians required to communicate in the public service of God 290
חוני המבנסת - - - 351
Church, a, not a mere congregation under a presbytery - 38
Church, the, a society by divine right before Constantine - 804
Church, the, has not the power of the sword - - - - 2
Church, the, a human though not a civil corporation under God's authority - - - 5
Church, the, has power to grant or withhold baptism - - 13
Church, the, has legislatorial power - - - - 139, 362
Church, the, to determine, but her determinations to be maintained by the state - - 186
Church, every, has its bishop and presbyters - - - 336
Church and state not to be confounded - - - 373, 369
Church has authority to decide in controversies of faith 155, 375
Church and synagogue, analogy between - - - 351, 329
Church determines but does not make the faith - - - 333
Church to be maintained by the secular power - - - 181
Church assemblies not to meet but by permission of the state 188
Church communion visible 3, 279
Church, decisions of the, are of divine authority - - - 142
Church's right to tithe, &c. - 165
Church's power of binding and loosing - - - - - 202
Claudius' edict in favour of the Jews - - - - - - 320
Clergy not incapable of employment in secular affairs - 217, 390
Clergy may in case of necessity be created by the people - 239
Clergy not to outrun the public censure of the Church in denouncing sinners - - - 364
Clinici - - - - - - 295
Clergy not called on to live in poverty - - - - - 289
Communion visible and invisible 300
Community of goods in Acts of Apostles - - - - - 164
Constantinople why next in rank to Rome - - - - - 323
Corinthian Church, schism of - 305
Corinthian, the incestuous, why admitted to penance - - 22
Councils, of divine right - - 161
Country churches subject to that of the city on which they bordered - 39, 152, 317, 324
Country congregations settled about the time of S. Cyprian 64
Corruption begins generally with the people, and thence extends to the clergy - - - - 220
Covenant - - - - - - 267

D

Deacons - - - - - - 124
Deacons preaching a custom from synagogue - - - - 85
Death, in what cases due to religious causes - - - - 208
Dependance of churches on metropolitan churches - - 45
Determination of matters of faith 159
Διάκονος - - - - - 346
Discerning of spirits - - 381
Discipline - - - - - 299
Discipline, the apostolic, rigorous 10
Dissenters' method of illustrating Scripture - - - - - 239
Dominion, temporal, not founded in grace - - - - - 3

E

Elders and elders of Israel, distinction between - - 331
Election, canonical, of bishops abolished in France by Francis I, and its results to him - 196
English Church, the, gives the king those rights which Jewish kings and after them Christian emperors always exercised - 7

Enoch, book of - - - 401
Ἐπίσκοπος - - - - 337
Erastianism - - - - 276
Essentials of the faith - - 397
Evangelists - - - - 62
Evangelists, what power they had in the Church - - 73
Eucharist, consecration of, by presbyters only - - 80, 97
Eucharist when administered in early Christianity - - 90
Eucharist, a sacrifice - - 92
Eucharist, power of consecrating flows from power of keys - 333
Eutychius, not trustworthy - 116
Excommunicate persons deprived of the Church prayers 98
Excommunicate persons, how to be used - - - - - 28
Excommunication whether only a secular or a spiritual penalty 10
Excommunication presupposed by penance - - - - 16
Excommunication under the gospel, analogous to death under the law - - - 23
Excommunication the exercise of the power entrusted by God to the Church - - 291

F

Faith - - - - - - 232
Faith in Christ with respect to persons explained - - 32
Force, those who employ, for pretence of religion, justly amenable to the temporal laws 206
Forms of public prayer - - 265
Freedom of a Christian - - 64
Frontlets, &c. of the Jews - 157

G

Government of Church why similar to that of Synagogue - 49
Governors not excommunicable for public misgovernment - 196
Grace of inferior ministers subject to that of the apostolic order - - - - - 111

H

Heretics self-condemned, how - 29
Holy Ghost's guidance of ancient Church - - - - 150
Holiness of persons & places 174, 370
Human institutions, authority of 154

I

Jerusalem, Council of - - 66
Jews bound to have Sanhedrims in the chief cities of their dispersions - - - - - 48
Imposition of hands in admitting to penance, &c. - - - 20
Ignatius' (S.) works, genuineness of - - - - 109, 343
Judgment, apostolic precept concerning - - - - 355
Jurisdiction resident in the Church - - - - 308
Justice, civil, not always coincident with gospel - - 377

K

Karaim - - - - - 147
Keys, power of - - 26, 312
Keys, power of, among Presbyterians and Dissenters - - 343
Kings liable to excommunication as others - - - 192

L

Lay elders, no such thing as 80, 97
Lay preaching - - - - 87
Lay baptism , - - - 88
Lay elders, Presbyterian argument for - - - - - 353
Law and gospel, spirit of, contrasted - - - 249
League, the holy - - - 267
Λειτουργοί, Λειτουργία - - 348

M

Maccabees - - - - 267
Machiavellianism of bad Christians - - - - - 287
Maintenance to the Church to be given from a principle of holiness - - - - 178

Majority, consent of, in Synod obliges the Church - - 393
Marriage, none without the Church's permission - - 195
Ministering of disciples - - 61
Ministry, the election of, belongs to the state, but their consecration to the clergy - - 380
Moses' consistory - - - 46
Mæsia Inferior, but one bishop in - - - - - 324

N

National Churches, what warranty for - - - - 6
Novatians, heresy of - - 19
נדוי and ἀφορισμός - - 30
Necessity, Presbyterian plea of, considered - - - - 240

O

Obligation of Scripture precepts 125
Offerings to idols - - - 140
Ordinary apostolic powers resident in Church - - - 151
Ordinations by synod of bishops 121
Ordinations require the consent of the majority of bishops in the province - - - - 202
Ordinations, power of, resident in Church - - - - 309
Ordinations performed by bishops only - - - - - 338

P

Παροικία - - - - 50
Patrick (St.) - - - - 52
Penance, gross sins excluded from - - - - - 14
Penance due on recovery from persons shriven in sickness - 17
People not bound to defend a prophet against the power of a prince - - - - 363
People no authority, but only an interest, in Church matters 69, 128, 133
Preachers sat to preach in synagogue - - - - - 157
Prayer not offered for apostates - 19
Presbytery founded on historical blunder - - - 55
Presbyters not commissioned to the heathen - - - - 82
Presbyters have a right to preach 109
Presbyterians, whether a Church or not - - - - - 241
Presbyterianism, introduction of, into England - - - 30
Privileges of clergy - - - 210
Profession of Christianity requires assemblies - - - 4
Prophets their power in Old Testament - - - - 145
Puritanism versus the Fifth Commandment - - - 207

Questions to candidates for baptism of apostolic authority - 12

R

Reform, Church - - 96, 200
Reformation, the - - 201, 222
Religion, false, to be kept down by penalties as disturbing the peace of society - - 211, 380
Right of interpretation of Scripture not vested in kings - 382
Rights of Church and State distinct, and not forfeited by union - - - - - 34
Rigour in discipline, apostolic - 16

S

Sacrilege to take away the Church's possessions - - 198
Sanhedrim, local, had not generally in foreign countries power over life - - - 47
Sanhedrims of the country towns 163
Satan, delivering to - - - 99
Schism and heresy, what - - 223
Schism of the Presbyterians - 258
Scripture, not all, binding on the Church - - - 233, 398
Secular power bound to interfere in cases too strong for the ecclesiastical consistory - 184

Scripture, meaning of, investigable by tradition - - 236
Secular power cannot give episcopal authority to presbyters 254
Secular power, interest of in the Church, whether from God - 284
Self-defence - - - - - 243
Sermons, inundations of, useless and unauthorised - - - 264
Service of the Church required by God - - - - - 4
Simeon and James of Jerusalem, their relationship - - - 71
Societies, civil, whether called on to be Christian or not - 8
Sovereigns cannot create the right in virtue whereof subjects of different sovereignties communicate - - - 7
Sovereign power of a state has a right in the disposal of Christian matters 138, 185, 358
Sovereign cannot destroy the unity of the Church - - 190
Spiritual sword committed to the Church - - - - 307
States, all, compelled by the Gospel to enter within the Church's pale - - - 210
State bound to inforce submission to the Church - - 360
שוטרים: - - - - - 352
Synagogue, apostolic ordinances of the Church drawn from pattern of - - - - 152
Synods, provincial, to be held twice a year - - - 161
Synod, Church of England's right to - - - - 270

T

Talmudistical doctors - - 86
Temptations and trials, Church always subject to - - - 376
Throne, episcopal, argument from the position of - - 77
Tithes, apostolic antiquity of - 170
Tithes, directly God's own - 170
Tithes, Church's right to - - 310
Toleration - - - - 387
Tradition the only ground - 125
Θυσιαστήριον - - - 94

U

Unity, means of restoring - - 271
Unity preferable to discipline - 297

W

Widows - - - - - 102
Will-worship, charge of against Christ disposed of - 153, 364

The following passage was added to the list of errata in the original edition, p. 52, add. "And Sozomenus, VII. 19, saith, that in Cyprus and Arabia it was usual to consecrate bishops in villages: as also among the Novatians and Montanists in Phrygia. On the other—"



LONDON: C. RICHARDS, PRINTER, ST. MARTIN'S LANE

BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY W. J. CLEAVER,

80, BAKER STREET.

THORNDIKE.

A DISCOURSE OF THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH IN A CHRISTIAN STATE, by HERBERT THORNDIKE, B.D. A New Edition, with Appendix and Index, by the REV. J. S. BREWER, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, and Classical Doctor of King's College, London.

MOSHEIM.

INSTITUTES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, Ancient and Modern, by JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM, D.D. A new and literal Translation from the original Latin, with copious additional Notes, by JAMES MURDOCH, D.D. Edited with Additions by HENRY SOAMES, M.A. Rector of Stapleford Tawney, with Thoydon Mount, Essex. In 4 vols. 8vo. 52s.

BENNETT.

THE EUCHARIST, its History, Doctrine, & Practice, with Meditations and Prayers suitable to that Holy Sacrament. In Two Parts. By WM. J. E. BENNETT, M.A. Late Student of Christ's Church, Oxford, and Minister of Portman Chapel, St. Marylebone. In 1 vol. 8vo. 12s. cloth.

(Also, by the same Author)

SERMONS ON MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS, Volumes One and Two, with a short Introduction prefixed to the Sermons contained in the First Volume, and Notes and Appendix to those in the Second. Price 6s.6d. and 7s.6d. or 14s. the two.

"IF ANY PROVIDE NOT FOR HIS OWN." A Sermon, preached in All Souls' Church, St. Marylebone, on Sunday, March 22d, 1840. Published by request of the Committee of the *North West London Provident Dispensary*. Price 6d. or for distribution, 3d. or 2s.6d. per dozen.

*** The profits of the sale of this Sermon will be given to the Institution in whose aid it was preached.

BENNETT—*continued.*

THREE SERMONS ON MARRIAGE, with reference to its Divine Appointment. Explanatory of the New Act with regard to Churchmen and Dissenters. 12mo. 6d. and 1s.

HUTCHINSON.

PLAIN SERMONS, Preached before Country Congregations. By the REV. CYRIL HUTCHINSON, M.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and late Perpetual Curate of Hawkhurst, Kent. In 1 vol. foolscap 8vo.

SCOBELL.

SIX SERMONS ON THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST IN THE WILDERNESS. By the REV. EDWARD SCOBELL, M.A. Incumbent of St. Paul's, Vere Street, and Evening Lecturer of the Parochial Church, St. Marylebone. In 1 vol. 12mo. 4s. cloth.

By the same Author,

PSALMS AND HYMNS, Selected and Adapted to the Purposes of Public Worship. 18mo. 2s. cloth.

CLOSE.

FAMILY PRAYERS. By the late REV. HENRY JACKSON CLOSE, M.A. 18mo. 1s.6d. cloth.

WILLIAMS.

THE GOOD WAY IS THE OLD WAY; or, the Love of Novelty in Religion censured. A Sermon by the REV. ALFRED WILLIAMS, M.A. Published by particular request. In 8vo. 1s.6d.

DEBRETT'S COMPLETE PEERAGE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND. Revised and Edited by GEORGE WILLIAM COLLEN, ESQ. with the Arms of the Peers. In 1 vol. 8vo. 30s. (*In the Press.*)

ADÈLE; A TALE OF FRANCE. By Miss E. RANDALL. In 1 vol. post 8vo. 7s.

THE DEMOCRATS OF MARYLEBONE. By JAMES WILLIAMSON BROOKE. In 1 vol. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

OBSERVATIONS. BY E. W. Second Edition. 18mo. 3s. 6d.

ROSABEL AND HELVETIA. Poems in two Cantos each. By THOMAS CHARLES CATHREY, Esq. of the Inner Temple. In 1 vol. post 8vo. 4s. cloth.

THE SIEGE OF BARCELONA. A Poem, in three Cantos. By GUSTAVUS BUTLER HIPPISLEY, Esq. In 1 vol. foolscap 8vo. (*In the Press.*)

"THE SCENES SO LONG FORGOT." Ballad. Sung by Miss RAINFORTH; Composed by R. CARTER, Organist of Portman Chapel, Baker Street.

Miscellaneous Works

SOLD BY W. J. CLEAVER.

MANT'S BIBLE. The Holy Bible, with Notes, Explanatory and Practical, together with Introductions, Tables, Indexes, Maps, and Plans. Prepared and arranged by the REV. GEORGE D'OYLY, D.D. and the REV. RICHARD MANT, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. 3 vols. 4to.

SCOTT'S BIBLE. The Holy Bible, with Explanatory Notes, Practical Observations, and copious Marginal References. By THOMAS SCOTT, Rector of Ashton Sandford, Bucks. 6 vols. 4to.

HENRY'S BIBLE. An Exposition of the Old and New Testament; with practical Remarks and Observations. By MATTHEW HENRY, V.D.M. with a few Prefatory Remarks by the REV. EDWARD BICKERSTETH. In 6 vols. 4to.

CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE, with the Biblical Fragments. By the late CHARLES TAYLOR. Illustrated with the numerous Maps and other Engravings. Seventh Edition, in 5 vols. 4to. cloth.

*** The same in 1 vol. royal 8vo. cloth.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, with Notes Explanatory, Practical, and Historical, from approved writers of the Church of England. Selected and arranged by the REV. RICHARD MANT, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. 1 vol. 4to.

CLARKE'S BIBLE. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testament. The Text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present authorized translation, including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes. By ADAM CLARKE, L.L.D. F.S.A. &c. A New Edition, with the Author's final Corrections. In 6 vols. imp. 8vo.

A New Literal Translation, from the original Greek, of all the APOSTOLICAL EPISTLES, with a Commentary and Notes, to which is added a History of the Life of the Apostle Paul. By JAMES MACKNIGHT, DD. A New Edition, 1 vol. imp. 8vo. cloth.

A COMPLETE CONCORDANCE TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT. In two Parts. To which is added a Concordance to the books called Apocrypha. By ALEXANDER CRUDEN, M.A. The Tenth Edition revised, 1 vol. imp. 8vo. cloth.

THE WHOLE WORKS OF THE RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D. LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE. With the Life of the Author, and a Critical Examination of his Writings, by BISHOP HEBER. In 15 vols. 8vo.

THE WORKS OF DR. JOHN TILLOTSON, LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. With the Life of the Author, by THOMAS BIRCH, M.A. Also, a copious Index, and the Texts of Scripture carefully compared. In 10 vols. 8vo.

THE WORKS OF RICHARD HURD, D.D. LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER. In 8 vols. 8vo. 21s.

THE WORKS OF NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D. with a Life, by DR. KIPPIS. In 10 vols. 8vo.

THE BRIDGEWATER TREATISES, complete in 12 vols. 8vo.

DISCOURSES AND DISSERTATIONS ON THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINES OF ATONEMENT AND SACRIFICE; with an Appendix. By the late MOST REV. WILLIAM MAGEE, D.D. ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN. The Fifth Edition. In 3 vols. 8vo.

THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED in a Series of Sermons. By TIMOTHY DWIGHT, S.T.D. LL.D. late President of Yale College. In 5 vols. 8vo.

VALPY'S DELPHIN & VARIORUM CLASSICS, complete in 141 volumes, small paper, 45 guineas.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW from its commencement to 1839. The greater part of the volumes are half-bound in russia, and the remainder in half calf.

THE DISPATCHES OF FIELD MARSHALL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, during his various Campaigns from 1799 to 1818, compiled from Official and Authentic Documents. By LIEUT.-COL. GURWOOD, Esquire to His Grace as Knight of the Bath. In 13 vols. 8vo. cloth.

THE MODERN TRAVELLER; a Description of the Various Countries of the Globe. By JOSIAH CONDER. In 33 vols. royal 18mo. cloth.

BURROWS' TOUR ROUND IRELAND, with a Map and Plates. In 1 vol. 12mo. 4s.6d. published at 14s.

THE LIBRARY OF ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE, complete in 43 vols. cloth.

THE FAMILY LIBRARY, complete, from its commencement to the present time.

NATURAL HISTORY, General and Particular. By the COUNT DE BUFFON, illustrated with above Six Hundred Copper Plates.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, compiled from Local Information, and the most recent and official Authorities. By JOHN GORTON. The Irish and Welsh Articles by G. N. WRIGHT, M.A. With Fifty-four quarto Maps, drawn and engraved by SIDNEY HALL. In 3 vols. 8vo. cloth.

HISTORY OF THE PENINSULAR WAR. By ROBERT SOUTHEY, ESQ. Poet Laureate. A New Edition. In 6 vols. 8vo. cloth.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND. By EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. A New Edition from the Original Manuscript. In 1 vol. imperial 8vo. cloth.

JOURNEY THROUGH ARABIA PETRÆA, TO MOUNT SINAI AND THE EXCAVATED CITY OF PETRA, the Edom of the Prophecies. By M. LEON DE LABORDE. Illustrated with Plates and Maps. 8vo. cloth.

AUSTRIA, ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION. By PETER EVAN TURNBULL, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A. In 2 vols. 8vo. cloth.

TRAVELS INTO BOKHARA; containing the Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus from the Sea to Lahore, with Presents from the King of Great Britain; and an Account of a Journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia. By CAPTAIN SIR ALEXANDER BURNES, F.R.S. New Edition, with a Map and Illustrations. In 3 vols. foolscap, cloth.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, written by Himself; with a Selection from his Correspondence. Edited by His Sons. In 3 vols. 8vo. cloth.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. By his Sons, ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, M.A. and SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, M.A. Second Edition. In 5 vols. small 8vo.

THE LIFE OF MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MUNRO, BART. K.C.B. Late Governor of Madras; with Extracts from his Correspondence and Private Papers. By the REV. G. R. GLEIG, M.A. In 2 vols. 8vo. bds.

LIFE OF FIELD MARSHAL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, embracing his Military, Civil, and Political Career, to the Present Time. Edited by SIR J. E. ALEXANDER, K.L.S. In 2 vols. 8vo. cloth.

THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF LORD BYRON: with Notices of his Life by THOMAS MOORE, Esq. Third Edition. With Forty-four Engravings by the FINDENS. In 3 vols. 8vo. and 1 vol. royal 8vo.

SCOTT'S WAVERLY NOVELS, complete in 48 vols. cloth.

SCOTT'S POETICAL WORKS, in 11 vols. 8vo. and 12 vols. foolscap.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF LORD BYRON. In 8 vols. 8vo. with Illustrations. In 10 vols. 18mo. In 1 vol. royal 8vo. With his Letters and Journals, 17 vols. foolscap.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. Edited by SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, BART. With Imaginative Illustrations by J. M. W. TURNER, Esq. R.A. In 6 vols. foolscap, and 1 vol. foolscap with Plates.



